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A BRITISH FUSILIER

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From a picture in oils in the possession of his descendants

LIEUTENANT FREDERICK MACKENZIE

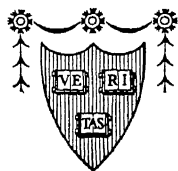
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A
British Fusilier
in
Revolutionary Boston

Being the Diary of Lieutenant FREDERICK MACKENZIE,
Adjutant of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, January 5—April 30, 1775

WITH A LETTER
DESCRIBING HIS VOYAGE TO AMERICA

EDITED BY ALLEN FRENCH
Author of "The Day of Concord and Lexington"



Cambridge
Harvard University Press
1926

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INTRODUCTION

IN much of the re-writing of *American History* which has been so general in the past few years, the main effort has been to penetrate the tradition which so heavily overlays it and by the use of contemporary documents to reach the actual facts. That this effort is wholesome, few will deny, nor can any harm come from knowing the truth about our ancestors. This would be reason enough for publishing any Revolutionary diary, but the one herewith presented, written in Boston in 1775 by Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, a British officer, has its own intrinsic value.

Until now the only portion of it printed was a part of the narrative of a single day, which has long been the standard account of Lord Percy's expedition to Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775. No writer upon that first day of our Revolution but has drawn heavily upon this narrative. Yet, buried in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (for March, 1890), it has not been easily accessible to the general reader, nor in convenient form for one assembling a library of Revolutionary Americana.

In writing my "Day of Lexington and Concord" two or more years ago, I depended greatly upon this narrative, and finding it of the highest value, wished to discover the remainder. The extract had been communicated to the *Massachusetts Historical Society* by Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, an American married in England, but when at length I managed to get word from her, I found that she had lost track of the original diary and believed it destroyed. As it was my plan to visit England in the summer of

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1925, I wrote in advance to the Literary Supplement of the London Times, stating the object of my search. By good fortune a copy containing my letter came under the eyes of a descendant of the original writer, and on landing in England I was greeted by a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Mackenzie saying that the ancestral diary was in his possession and at my service. Of his kindness and interest in my work then and ever since I can speak only in terms of gratitude and appreciation.

I had hoped that the diary would contain accounts of events of the siege of Boston, and particularly of the Battle of Bunker Hill, equal in value to the section which describes the events of the 19th of April. Unluckily the volume containing this information has been lost. A family memorandum of the year 1858 mentions the journals as covering the period from 1748 to 1791. All have been lost but eight volumes, including all those previous to 1775. Our volume begins with January of that year and ends with the 30th of April following. The next volume begins with the campaign which culminated in the capture of New York in 1776, so that almost the whole period of the siege of Boston is lacking. There is no record or memory of when the lost volumes left the Mackenzie family, and one can only hope that they will some day be found. Fortunately there still exists a single letter from the writer of the diary, written to his parents in 1773, describing his voyage to America in a troopship. That letter, with the Boston section of the diary, is incorporated in the present volume.

The general facts in regard to Frederick Mackenzie, the diarist, and his family, compiled from the Army Lists and from information communicated to me by his great-grandson, are as follows:

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He was the only son of Mr. William Mackenzie, sometime merchant of Dublin, by his wife Mary Ann (born Boursiquot), who was of French descent, belonging to one of the numerous Huguenot families which escaped to Ireland at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The son is believed to have received his first commission in the 23rd Regiment (Royal Welch Fusiliers) in the year 1745. He was promoted to a captaincy in Boston in the fall of 1775 and obtained his majority in August 1780. During a part of the British occupation of New York he acted as deputy adjutant-general. In 1787 he transferred from his old regiment to become lieutenant-colonel of the 37th Foot. He appears to have gone on half-pay for a time and lived in or near Exeter, as in 1794, at the time of the fear of a Napoleonic invasion, he raised and commanded the First Exeter Volunteers. He afterwards became "Assistant Barrack-Master General" at Headquarters, and was for some time Secretary of the Royal Military College. He died in the early part of 1824 at Teignmouth, Devon, but the exact date cannot be determined. He had three sons, of whom two, James (the "Jem" of the letter about the voyage to America) and George, became officers in their father's regiment. James was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1780. As a major he served with the Fusiliers in Egypt in 1801 and died there of dysentery on March 24th of that year.

George was born in Boston on June 15th, 1775, or two days before Bunker Hill, his mother having followed her husband from New York. He entered the 37th Regiment as an ensign in 1792, and four years later we find him a captain in the Fusiliers. He attained his majority in 1803. He disappears from the roster of

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the regiment in 1806 and from the Army Lists, and evidently retired with the rank of major. He died on April 27th, 1833. Thus it appears that from 1745, when the diarist received his first commission, until George left the corps, a period of more than sixty years, the Mackenzies were steadily represented in the officers' mess of the Royal Welch Fusiliers.

The eldest son of George obtained a commission under the Old East India Company and sailed for the East in 1825 at the early age of fifteen. He became a captain in the Royal Bengal Artillery and died in India in 1840. The father of the present owner of the diary, the youngest son of George, studied law and practised as a solicitor, but the owner himself, returning to the tradition of the family, followed the profession of a soldier. It is, moreover, interesting to note that he bears the same name and retired from the army with the same rank as his ancestor of our Revolutionary days, who one hundred and fifty-one years ago marched with Percy to Lexington. It was for his descendants, born and unborn, that our diarist, resting from war's alarms, patiently transcribed, in a clear, fair hand, his long and honorable record of military service.

The text of the present volume is of value for several reasons. The opening letter describing the seven weeks' voyage to America, apart from its realistic picture of life aboard a troop-ship, is very human in its presentation of various characters. Writing to his father and mother, who seem to have been acquainted with at least some of Mackenzie's companions, the writer gave himself a little rein in depicting their behavior. The description of New York in 1773 is vivid, and even the list of prices should be of interest to modern readers who are concerned with the high cost of living.

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When Mackenzie leaves letter-writing and turns to his diary he presents a different aspect of himself. He is no longer gossipy, but professional. He was a lieutenant and an adjutant, and his duties were exacting. His record of facts has a soldierly precision. Day after day passes with no entry except the date, but when he does write he is sure to give in a clear and direct way information that is of real value. His account of the oration on the Boston Massacre delivered by Warren in the Old South Church is very full, and more satisfactory than any previously known. His narrative of the embarkation of the Concord expedition is the only one that comes from an eye-witness. His story of Percy's march to and from Lexington is unique and of great historical value.

The Boston section of his diary forms an interesting contrast to that of Lieutenant Barker of the King's Own. Barker, a promising officer, eager and restless, is full of youthful intolerance. His chronicle bristles with contemptuous flings at his superiors and at the enemy, whether in the street or in the field. Mackenzie, on the other hand, who must at the time have been hard on his fiftieth year, expresses no such sentiments. A seasoned, experienced soldier, he takes the day's work as it comes and discharges it with fidelity. He wastes no time in fruitless denunciation; to him Gage is not the "Tommy" of Barker's irreverent references, but the commander-in-chief of the army. He gives us a clear and dispassionate review of the events of the 19th of April. He expresses the opinion that Gage was the victim of faulty information and that he would have done better had he entrusted the affair to a more enterprising officer than Smith. The criticism is intelligent and free from disrespect*

* See "The British in Boston," Cambridge, 1924.

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or rancor. He was evidently the sort of man whom responsibility seeks. He was a competent adjutant, and his assignment to instruct the Light Infantry in Boston and his appointment as Major of Brigade by Howe at Halifax in 1776 are evidences of the esteem in which he was held at headquarters. The long-delayed promotions came to him rapidly between 1775 and 1787. The portrait, painted late in his life, which forms the frontispiece to this volume, shows a strong, handsome visage that must have been impressive in his prime. He was evidently a man whose character was revealed in his face.

Mr. Harold Murdock, whose advice has been helpful to me throughout my task, early conjectured that at least part of the carefully penned manuscript was a transcript of material written under the trying conditions of camp and march. The late water-marks on the paper of several of the earlier volumes have conclusively established the correctness of his supposition; that the later volumes are transcripts is not so certain. At my request, Mr. Murdock has contributed a special note on the composition and strength of Colonel Smith's force on the 19th of April. In general, my own footnotes that accompany the present text are intended to help the ordinary reader by throwing some sidelights on events as they are mentioned and to show where Mackenzie departs from previously accepted accounts.

The letter of a brother officer who went out with Smith's detachment, which Mackenzie copies in his record, has been hitherto unknown. Its shortcomings, its generalities and inaccuracies, seem to call for the special documenting that I have given it. It includes a number of interesting statements, but on the whole suggests a

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narrative written from memory some years after the events it describes.

The attention of the reader is especially called to the map of Concord which he will find at the end of the volume, accompanied by an explanatory note and a key. As the only known contemporary plan of the Concord battle-field, it is of unique interest and importance.

ALLEN FRENCH

CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

December, 1926

THE VOYAGE

AN ACCOUNT OF A VOYAGE TO NEW YORK IN A TROOPSHIP IN THE YEAR 1773

A Letter

BY FREDERICK MACKENZIE

First Lieutenant and Adjutant, Royal Welch Fusiliers

NEW YORK, 29th JUNE 1773.

DEAR FATHER,

I have the pleasure of informing you that we are all safe arrived at this place. Without further preface I shall give you some little account of our transactions since my last letter in England, which I think was dated the 18th of April in Catwater.¹ We lay there till the 24th when the wind proving fair we weighed anchor, and got out into the Sound, where we came to anchor again, as the Ship in which the Commadore was (The Fox, an old East Indiaman) could not get out. The 25th the Fox came out, and about 9 in the morning the whole (7 transports) were under sail with a fair wind. We went down Channel with a fine wind, and lost sight of the Lizard on Tuesday the 27th. As soon as we got quite clear of the land we found a great swell from the Westward, and Northwest, owing as the Sailors say, to the frequency of the winds from those points, so that notwithstanding the wind blows from the opposite points, the swell continues for some time after the change. This caused a

¹ The Catwater is the easterly inlet of Plymouth Sound.

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great motion in the ship, and surprised many of our people, who expected that when the wind did not blow hard there would be but little or no motion. Till the 1st May we had cold weather with strong squalls of wind, and a great swell which made us all very sick. The 2nd we eat the last of 2 Turkeys which Mr. Cooke of Kenbury gave me. It proved exceeding good, we were 600 miles from Plymouth at the time. The same night we buried one of the Soldiers Children who died of a quincy; a woman was also brought to bed. (this Child died about a fortnight later owing to bad management) The 7th we had a very strong gale of wind which broke some of our rigging, but nothing material; the sea run so high, that not having seen anything of the kind before, I really thought that it would have upset us. In this Gale we lost sight of two of the Seven Ships, but they joined us again two days after, all well. The 9th we split one of our topsails in a gale of wind. The 12th it blew exceeding hard, and the Sea run very high, this gale lasted about 8 hours, and the Sea broke a good deal over the Ship. We kept all the Men down, and shut all the hatches, the Ship rolled so much that the Gunnel were under water, and the Sea washed over the deck. About 5 in the evening the wind abated and we run up close to the Fox, and begged of the Commadore that as the wind was favorable for us, that he would permit us to make the best of our way; with some difficulty he consented, and our Men gave him three Cheers, and we made sail from him. We were heartily tired of following the Fox, for she sailed very ill, and was bound for a different port (Quebec) so that we were delayed by following her, and prevented from making the

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best use of the winds which blew. The 13th the weather was fine but the Ship rolled greatly from the agitation of the Sea by the wind yesterday. This day we found that in the Gale of wind yesterday, we had sprung the Main mast; upon examination we found it dangerous to carry much sail upon it, so that we struck the top Gallant Mast, and from this day never hoisted but one sail on the Main Mast, which was the cause of great delay in our voyage. Till the 18th we had fine weather and pleasant sailing. This day proved foggy and we lost sight of the Brudenell and did not see her again till at this place. We spoke to her the 17th and they had also sprung their Main Mast but not dangerously. The 21st we spoke to a French brig from Port au Prince to Bordeaux. The 22nd we spoke to a ship from Jamaica to Bristol, called the Western (or Watson) Capt Philips, out 5 weeks. We desired the Captain to put into Lloyds list, that he had met with and spoke to the Friendship in Latitude 40:58 Longitude 49:30 all well. I thought of this as I knew it would give you great satisfaction to hear something of us. The 23rd we lost sight of the Pallas and Henry. The 24th we had very remarkable showers of rain, so heavy that tho' there had been a fresh gale of wind and a something of a Sea before, yet after 2 or 3 of these showers the wind was gone, and the Sea as smooth as possible. For many days we were amused with prodigious numbers of porpuses, which passed the Ship with surprizing rapidity in pursuit of fish. I fired many times with ball at them, but without ever being certain that I killed one tho' they came within a yard of the Ship. We also saw many of the flying fish, which being pursued by porpuses, or frightened by

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the Motion and noise of the Ship flew as it were out of the water for about 20 yards, and by that time their wings, or rather fins, being dried, they fell in the Sea again. They appeared white, about the size of a Pilchard, with two fins about the length of the longest feather in a ducks wing. We saw many small turtle floating on the surface but thought it too much trouble and delay to put out a boat to catch them. The 30th we had a violent gale of wind which lasted from 8 in the morning till the next morning, the Sea run very high and looked fright-[ful]ly, the ship rolled so much, and so suddenly, that we expected every moment the Masts would go overboard, but providentially we received no damage, except a few of the ropes giving way. We could shew only two sails the wind was so violent and had it increased but very little more, we must have lain too, at the mercy of the Sea. It was very fortunate for us that our masts stood firm; if we had lost one of them we should have been at Sea till this time in all probability. The 2nd of June we had a fine fair wind, which carried us 170 mile on our course in 24 hours. This was the only fair wind we had the voyage; all the rest of the time we were obliged to go as near the wind as possible to hold our course. The 3rd in the Morning we saw a sloop and judging we were near the land, we made a signal to speak with her, on which she bore down till she was within about 300 yards of us, when finding there were Soldiers on board, she immediately made sail from us and would not have anything to say to us. We supposed she belonged to Boston, as they are remarkable for their aversion to people with red coats on. The Pallas and Henry met with something like

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this when they came near the land; they made a signal to speak to a vessel they saw, she took no notice of them, on which they fired a shot at her and obliged her to tell them whereabouts they were. She also belonged to Boston. This same evening we spoke to a brig from Bermudas to Casco Bay, in New England. Her reckoning and that of our Captain agreed pretty well. The 4th being the Kings birth day, we sounded, in hopes of finding ground, but found no bottom with a line 135 fathoms long. The 6th we spoke to a Schooner from Philadelphia to Newfoundland, had been out 3 days, who advised us not to get any further to the Northward least we should come up on the Nantucket shoals, which are 10 leagues from Nantucket Island, and have only three feet water on them. We had been looking out for them for some days, but this mans information made us easy about them. The 7th at 10 at night we sounded and found 86 fathom. Our Latitude 40 degrees, Longitude by our reckoning 72 degrees west from London. The weather was fine and moderate for some days, and we had the satisfaction of having fine moonlight nights, which is very agreeable upon coming near the land. The 8th, at 7 o'clock in the Evening the man at the Mast head cried out "*land*," before night we could discern it from the deck. In the Morning it proved to be the North East of Long Island, which extends along the coast for 34 leagues, at the South West end of which is the entrance of New York river; we sailed alongside the Island all the 9th, and at 6 o'clock saw the light house at Sandy hook, which is opposite the End of Long Island. We made a signal for a Pilot who soon came on board and at 11 o'clock at night we were made fast to

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one of the wharfs at New York, all safe and well. The distance from Sandy hook to the city is 30 mile, and tho' the channel is difficult and the night was as dark as possible, and it blew very hard, we did not meet with the least accident. We intended indeed to anchor off the City, but it was so very dark (the Moon not being up) that the Ship touched the wharf before they could let go the anchor. To our great surprize we found ours to be the first ship, which we had no reason to expect, for we were at first the worst sailing ship of the four, and having met with the above accident to our Mast, we all said we should be the last in. We were particularly fortunate in getting in so soon as we did; had we been but one hour later we could not have had a Pilot off to us, and as we were so near the land must have stood off till daylight, and the wind increased to so great a degree from 8 that evening till Morning that we must have been blown quite off the Coast. Perhaps that would not have been the worst, by the accounts of the other ships the Sea was higher and more dangerous that night than any other during the voyage, and as ours was a very old crazy ship, we might have met with some bad accident. We were all very thankful for our safe arrival. In the Morning the variety of beautiful objects which surrounded us appeared pleasing beyond description; the delightfull verdure of the Country, the fine appearance of the City, and the plenty that appeared of all kinds of vegetables and fruits were quite charming and struck us more forcibly by our having been conveyed into the Midst of them without seeing any part of them in our passage up the River. Captain Evans and I went on shore in the Morning

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and waited on the General (Haldimand), and the Governor (Tryon) by whom we were very civilly received.¹ We disembarked the 11th and got our men into the barracks. The ladies did not come on shore till the same Evening on account of the difficulty of getting beds; at last we got beds at one of the Inns, where Nancy and I remained till the 14th, which night we lay in the barracks, where we still continue. The morning Evans and I came on shore we returned to the ship with bread, butter, milk, veal, fish, peas, asparagus, Salleting,² turnips, lobsters, cherries, strawberries, Pine apples, and many other things equally good and acceptable. The Pine apples surprized us most, which were sold out of Carts in the streets at 6d and 7d Sterling each.

We were remarkably healthy the whole voyage, no sickness amongst our Men, except two or three who had slight touches of the ague; and after two or three weeks very little sea Sickness. In the Cabbin our greatest trouble was Mrs. G——s, who was so very sick that she sometimes kept her bed for a fortnight together, and hardly ever either breakfasted, dined, or Sup't at table the whole voyage — and to make things worse, was so touchy, pafsionate, ill-natured, and hard to please, that there was no bearing her. Nancy's situation with respect to accommodations was very disagreeable. Imagine to yourself a Cube of 7 feet, that is 7 feet long, 7 broad, and 7 high, in this space only think of stowing three women and three Children, and to be at

¹ Captain Edward Evans was the senior officer among those on board; Lieut. Mackenzie, next in seniority, may have accompanied him ashore in his character of adjutant. Frederick Haldimand was in command of the troops at New York.

² Salads.

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Sea for 7 weeks: I believe you will hardly think it possible. But to explain it, on the right hand lay Mrs Mac, in a bed $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, on the left (about three feet from the floor) Mrs. G——s, her bed about the same width, under her bed on the floor, her Maid, (a little, dirty, Scotch girl), over Mrs. G——s, her child in a Cott about 2 foot long and 18 inches wide, which being suspended from the Ceiling swung about with the Motion of the Ship; at Mrs. Mac's feet (in the same bed) lay Charlotte; in the space between the feet of the ladies beds, and on a level with them I had a little place (like a box without a cover) made up in which Fanny lay: under her was room for a trunk of Nancy's; over the feet of each of the ladies beds was a little cupboard or locker in which they put the things they had immediate use for. In the space between the two beds, and close to Fanny's, Stood the low nursing chair you gave Nancy at Edinburgh: after this you will judge what space remained, it was just enough for one person to stand in. Above Mrs G——s and on her left hand was a little window about a foot square, which opened to the Cabbin stairs, it was always with the greatest difficulty that I could get it kept open, and that very seldom. I assure you that I was often afraid that some of them would be suffocated for want of fresh air. Only think of being cooped up in such a place when Mrs G——s was continually sick, even in the night, and throwing up every thing she attempted to take; in the day time it was not quite so bad as I made Nancy keep upon the deck as much as possible. The little woman used to put herself in such violent passions with her Maid that she surprized us all, she scolded her upon the most trifling occasions, and has been so far trans-

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ported with passion as to throw things at her; upon these occasions she always applied to Nancy to make her do what she wanted, but it was endless, and impossible to please her. Even her husband found it so, and tho' he took all imaginable pains to please her, and was constantly employed in making one slop or other for her, nothing would do; and what she liked one time she would dislike the next. Indeed it would be endless to describe the whims and fancies she troubled us with, if she heard the Captain talking more or louder upon deck in the night, she would waken all in the Cabin till she knew what was the Matter. The child too was very troublesome by crying frequently in the night and if it was not fed always at 4 o'clock in the morning it cried so violently that it was impossible to sleep. Upon the whole I was (and I believe the rest were) most heartily tired of her and wished the voyage at an end chiefly on her account. I believe he was many times quite ashamed of her, never was man so patient certainly, Job was nothing compared with him. She seemed to do everything out of a spirit of Contradiction: when she came on deck and the Sea smooth she would not be persuaded to walk back and forward, and yet one day that we were becalmed, and a great Motion in the Ship, so that it was with difficulty we men could keep our feet, nothing would please her but she must walk the deck; and when he endeavoured to represent the difficulty, or rather the impossibility of her doing it, she said he was very unkind, and that she would get some other person who had good nature enough to assist her. Nancy was in very good spirits after a while; I made her come on deck as much as possible, where she employed herself

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in working. Her appetite was never very good. Cleanliness in our Cookery, so requisite where people's stomachs are nice, was impossible to be preserved where we were so much crowded. We all had our different departments on board, E——s had the Care of the fowls, G——s of the sheep and hogs, G——e of the liquors, D——r of the tea and breakfast, I had the regulation of the Dinners and Suppers; the ladies were exempted, Mr. Y——g was our cook. Little Fan was made very happy by E——s appointing her to collect the Eggs which our fowls laid, which sometime amounted to 8 or 10 a day — Jem assisted in feeding them and always covered them up at night — The first time we had any bad weather Jem and Fan were a little sick, but never once after; Charlotte nor G——s Child were never once sick. I thought I should have had a deal of trouble in keeping Jem quiet and preventing him from falling overboard, but after the first week he could go every where about the ship as well as any person in it; he kept his legs surprizingly and when neither G——s nor G——e could go any where without holding he would go across the Cabin or walk the deck as well as any of the Sailors; it would have made you laugh to have seen him humouring the Motion of the Ship with his knees and legs and so well that he did not get one fall. He was very happy in the Company of a Son of the Captain's (a boy about 10 years old) and the Cabin boy. Mrs Mac had Betty to assist her about the Children, and whenever the weather permitted she had them on the deck, which I am sure contributed much to their health. We had great plenty of all kinds of provision &c on board; our live stock consisted of 63 fowls and ducks, 2 Tur-

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keys, 7 Sheep and 2 hogs; of which we brought in here 2 Sheep and 13 fowls. In short we lived exceeding well, and hardly ever eat any Salt provisions. Perhaps before I have done, I may give you a list of the things we laid in for the voyage. I can't praise E——s sufficiently for the civility and attention he shewed the ladies particularly Nancy and her little ones. He never was once sick, always in good humour, and for making the best of every thing. He did every thing that was possible to make things agreeable. He was the best of the whole to be with. G——s was very sick great part of the way, he kept his bed a good deal, but was chiefly employed in attending Mrs G——s. D——r, who only joined us two days before we sailed, proved a good mefs mate; very lively and good humoured; he read a good deal, but generally slept from Dinner till tea, and after that till Supper. G——e was very sick and helpless, his chief employment was drinking so that sometimes he got his dose twice a day; at last we found it necessary to stint him, for he was so very touchy and crabbed when he had got too much, that he was quite troublesome. The Captain of the Ship was a very good natured, rough Seaman with whom we were on very good terms — He was, I believe, pleased with me because I seemed desirous of acquiring some knowledge of Sea affairs; and as I had read numbers of voyages and knew many of the sea terms he was fond of giving me instruction. He is a very good Seaman and I am certain that it was greatly owing to his experience that we arrived here the first. — We rose at 7, breakfasted always at 8, had what we called a Meridian at 12, consisting of Cold Meat and Punch. Dined at 2, tea at 6, and

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supped at 8, and were generally in bed by 10 o'clock — We did not touch a card the whole voyage. We kept a watch on deck the whole voyage, consisting of a fourth part of our men — G——s, D——r, and Myself took it night about to watch, we generally staid on deck untill 1 or 2 in the Morning, saw all the fire and lights put out at 8 at night; saw all the berths between decks where the Men lay, cleaned every morning, and sprinkled with vinegar; had the beds brought up and aired when the weather permitted, saw all the provisions delivered to the men; and made every man wash and combe himself every morning; all these things preserved the health of the Men, and yet it was with difficulty we could make them do those things which conduced so much to their preservation, for when they were Sea Sick, nothing but force could make them come on deck — We were obliged several times to tie a rope about some of the lazy fellows as they lay in bed, and give the other end to the men on deck, who hauled them out in an instant — We caught no fish at Sea, tho' we tried all methods — The Pallas and Henry arrived here the 12th, and were astonished to find that we had got here first. The Pallas struck on a Sand bank coming up the river, and was there half an hour, which frightened them all heartily, for the Ship struck very hard, but she was got off again without any damage — They met with no accident at Sea. The small pox broke out on board the Pallas; 9 Children had them of which four died; two Soldiers also had them, but they recovered; two Soldiers died, one of a fever, the other a consumption. On board the Henry D——s was very ill the greatest part of the voyage, and kept his bed for a month to-

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gether; he was so thin when he came here that we hardly knew him — Mrs D——s was pretty well most of the time, but Miss D——s was very sick. D——'s little boy was very ill about a week before they arrived, and he is now so bad that they have had a Physician to see him, and I hear there is little hopes of his recovery — The Brudenell did not arrive till the 17th as she had hurt her Mast, and was besides but a bad ship, we were under some apprehensions for her, but they arrived all safe. As H——l had made the most solemn declarations before, and just after they drew for leave, that nothing should induce him to go to America, if he drew to stay, we were all very glad that he got a little sweating on the voyage, for we all told him, that after what he had said he never could hope to get safe to America, and that if he should be so fortunate as to arrive here, it certainly would be after a long and dangerous passage. In fact they were heartily frightened, for they made a deal of water, and were obliged to pump every two hours; and besides all had sprung the Main Mast in two places, and expected to lose it every day. To add to the disagreeableness of their situation they did not agree well with each other. F——n offended H——l highly by taking the best Cabin, in which were two good beds, by which means H——l was obliged to give 5 Guineas to the Captain for his bed for Mrs H——l. It certainly was impolite in F——n, not to give up the place, that the ladies might be together. This want of harmony must have made their situation highly disagreeable. Upon my arrival I delivered the letters I had to Campbell and Gault, Mr Ramadge and Mr Folliot — I dined with the first the 20th, and

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was very well entertained — I am to dine with Mr. Ramadge the 27th — I delivered the letter to Mr Folliot at the Coffee house, who was very civil, he told me that Mrs Folliot's father died a short time since, by which she has been so much affected that she is advised to remain in the Country, but that as soon as she was well enough to go out, she would wait on Mrs Mac: — He was very obliging, and made many apologies for not being able to ask us to dine, as his family was in the Country, and in confusion on the above account — The people here seem in general very civil, the Officers have had many invitations to Dine. They entertain very well; nothing is produced but Madeira, which is extremely good — H——l, D——s and G——s have taken houses, the prices I don't exactly know; they are not dear, but all unfurnished — F——n is about taking a large, handsome house in the Center of the City, and they say going to set up a carraige which he brought with him (a Chariot). If he does all this, 'tis expected he lives and entertains accordingly; but if he does not entertain &c he will cut but a ridiculouse figure — His pomposity is greater than ever. There are great numbers of Carraiges kept here, & whiskeys innumerable¹ — Almost every person of the least consequence keeps one in which he drives out to the Country early in the Morning (from 5 to 7) and in the cool of the Evening, which is very agreeable — The hot season is now coming on; till 7 in the Morning 'tis very pleasant, but then the Sun begins to be very powerful, and till 6 in the Evening 'tis very hot, especially to

¹ A chariot was a somewhat pretentious four-wheeled vehicle; a whiskey was a gig or one-horse shay.

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us new comers. I don't as yet feel it very bad, but they say it will be hotter. We go without our coats at the barracks most of the day — The day I dined at Mr Campbell's, we sat the whole time in our waistcoats. — Nancy complains of the heat, she does not go out till 6 or 7 in the Evening, but I hope she will not feel any bad consequences from the heat — The latitude of this place is 40:40, and as the Sun is now $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees from the Equator, we consequently are but little more than 17 degrees from him, so that you may judge of the heat. At noon there is very little shadow — Most of the people keep within doors during the heat of the day — The Market, which is every day and begins at 5 o'clock, is entirely over, and hardly a person to be seen by 10. The Meat is killed the same morning and is very liable to stink before dinner — You must buy only for that day, and fish and some other articles are allowed to be sold on Sundays till 8 o'clock. The following are the present prices — Beef (very good) at $3\frac{1}{2}$ pr pound. Mutton about the same, very good. Veal, 3d some very fine as ever I saw. The worst is cheaper. Lamb, about 9 lb a quarter, very pretty, for abt $\frac{5}{6}$ and 2 shillings. Butter 7d. Chickens, small for 9d a Couple. Ducks, $\frac{5}{6}$ a couple. Fish of several sorts which I never saw before; one sort called black fish, much esteemed, 3 halfpence a pound; Sea bafs abt the same. Sea trout from 2 to 1 pound apiece, for a halfpenny each. A sort called sheepsheads, an ill looking fish, but they say very good, of 10 or 12 lb weight, for 6d or 8d. Lobsters in surprizing quantities, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ d per pound. Small crabs (different from those in England) very cheap.

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Turtle for 7d a pound any weight. Pine apples as large as a quart Mug, for 6d each. Limes for $\frac{5}{3}^d$ a hundred. These three last articles are brought in small sloops from the West Indies constantly. A vessel came in on the 19th loaded with the above. She brought 300 dozen of Pine apples — I went on board her this morning (23d) and chose two out of several Cartloads, for which I gave only $\frac{1}{5}^d \frac{1}{2}$ — The most beautiful fruit I ever saw, and in flavour much superior to any in England. They weighed at least 5 lb each. — All kinds of vegetables are in great plenty and very good. Turnips, 2d a bunch; two lettuce for $\frac{1}{2}d$, Peas 8d a peck, Beans, 9d a peck. Young cabbages, 1d each. Kidney beans, 6d a peck. Asparagus about 6d a hundred. Cucumber (not plenty yet) 2d each. Cherries 2d a pound — Strawberries about $\frac{1}{3}d$ a quart. Currants, $1\frac{1}{2}$ a pound. Raspberries about 4d a quart. Young Potatoes abt $\frac{1}{5}$ a peck. Milk $\frac{1}{2}d$ a quart, No cream. Bread abt $\frac{1}{10}d$ a pound — These are what articles I recollect at present. The Market people (great numbers of whom are Germans,¹ and speak very little English) are very sharping, and will overreach if they can. Great numbers of the people who sell vegetables are Blacks; the servants of farmers — 'Tis surprizing what Numbers of them are seen here, I believe one fourth of the Inhabitants are Negros, and Mullatoes. All the Specie here is Spanish. Consisting of Dollars and Pistreens. and the half, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Dollar and $\frac{1}{2}$ pistreens. The Dollar is $\frac{5}{4}^d \frac{1}{8}$ Sterling, which is $\frac{5}{8}$ New York Currency. — The prices above mentioned are Sterling; but every thing is bought

¹ This means of course the New York Dutch.

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and sold according to their currency, which is as 12 to 7. Paper Money, something like the Scotch bills are common and of different Sums, so low as $\frac{5}{3}$ / Currency. Both Offrs and Men are allowed provisions by Government, for which they pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ d per day — The allowance for each Man for 7 days is 7 lb of salt beef, or, 4 lb of Pork, 7 lb of flour (for which they pay /1d baking, & it is made into 9 lb of bread) 3 pints of white peas, $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound of rice, and 6 ounces of butter — The whole of which is $18\frac{1}{2}$ d. If the men chuse it, they may receive 7 lb of fresh beef, instead of all the articles except flour. So that with 7 lb of fresh beef, 9 lb of bread, and laying out $5\frac{1}{2}$ in roots they may live extremely well. Rum is so cheap (the New England rum being only $\frac{1}{9}^d$ a Gallon) that at present we find the utmost difficulty in keeping them from drinking to excess; which I fear will be fatal to many of them; for the spirit is very bad. The best Jamaica Rum is sold for $\frac{3}{6}$ a Gallon; and french brandy for $\frac{5}{6}^d$ — The price of Wines I don't know; But at the Tavern we paid $\frac{2}{11}^d$ a bottle for Madeira and $\frac{3}{6}^d$ for Claret. Hardly any Port to be met with — I buy 16 Gallons of very good small beer for $\frac{2}{11}^d$ & Spruce beer, which I am determined to drink, and like, for $\frac{1}{2}$ a bottle. — Porter is 7d a bottle. I have not bought any groceries yet — except oil, which is $\frac{2}{11}^d$ a pint.

I will now give you some account of the things we laid in for our ship during the voyage. —

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7 sheep	£8: 8:0	6 bottles of Mustard	
2 Hogs	1:16:9	12 Gallons of Rum	£4:4:0
63 Fowls & Ducks	3:10:0	12 of brandy	3:9:0
14 hundred of Hay	2: 2:0	20 Dozen of Bottled Porter	7:4:6
3 bags of Oats		9 Dozen of Port Wine @	17/6
2 of Barley	13:0	4 " of Mountain } at 17/6	
16 lbs of Cheese	7:0	2 " of Lisbon }	
51 lbs of potted butter	2: 6:1	2 Gallons of Shrub	
89 of Cask butter	2:19:0	200 Apples	5:0
100 lb of loaf sugar	3:19:4	2 Gallons of vinegar	4:0
28 " of brown Do	12:0	28 lb of Salt	
2 " of Green Tea	1:12:0	6 lb of Portable Soup	1:19:0
6 " of Souchong	1:19:0	5 lb of Sago powder	10:0
50 Dozen of Eggs	11:6	10 Pickled tongues	15:0
400 lemons	1:12:0	10 lb of Currants	5:0
100 oranges	10:0	10 " of Raisins	3:4
200 lb of white biscuit	2:10:0	4 " of Coffee	6:8
56 lb of flour	8:0	80 Gallons of Potatoes	18:0
		20 lb of Onions	2:0
All sorts of spices. 1/4 of fresh beef at 3 1/4			
	6 legs of Mutton	3d	
	20 loaves of bread	20/	
	7 lb of soap	3/6	
	7 lb of Barley		
Parsnips, Turnips, Broccoli, Leeks	} 1:10:0		
Horseradish, Herbs of all sorts, Pickles			
10 Tin Plates	10:0	2 Doz Glasses, 2 Bowls	9:0
12 Cups & Saucers	4:0	3 Black Jacks ¹	6:0
12 Knives & Forks	9:0	12 Spoons	2:0
		6 Towels	3:0

¹ Leather tankards or serving pitchers.

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Besides the above there were a great many other small articles which I don't recollect, the whole amount to about £70 — We have not quite closed our accounts yet, so can't exactly say the expence — We agreed at Plymouth, that if it cost the Single Men £10 each, the Married were to pay £15—, and if it came to more to be divided equally amongst the persons — You will find by the above acct that we did not want for the time we were on board — All the liquors were drank; (I believe I did not drink 6 bottles of Port the whole time). No person tasted the portable soup but myself. We brought the rest on shore — very little tea and Sugar left — half the cask of butter left. The sheep and fowls left we gave to the Captain, also many other small things. The Officers receive an allowance of wood, I believe it will be near sufficient to serve us — Some Candles are allowed during the Winter, but I don't know the quantity — The barracks here are built by the Colony at whose expence every thing belonging to them is provided. They allow us a table, 2 chairs, fire irons and an ash box for each room. — The rooms are 6 yards by 5, but hardly 7 feet high — The Officers have 28 rooms allowed them. They are all the same. Single houses, two windows to the front, and one backwards in each room. The houses are all in one range, 4 rooms in each, two above & 2 below. No other Conveniences except a small Closet in each room, and a little place under the stairs. They are built of wood, lathed and plaistered, and boarded on the outside. — Very few houses in this place but some are covered with wood, which being cut in small pieces like slates, look exactly like them, after they have been on some time. The

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City is generally well built, many very elegant brick houses, and very well furnished — The Streets are broad, and spacious; and as many of the houses have trees planted before them, they afford an agreeable shelter and look well. This City is situated on the South East end of an Island, about 12 mile long, and I believe abt 5 or 6 broad. It is surrounded by water on three Sides, and has variety of beautifull prospects from all sides. The Jerseys, (which lie to the North West on the other side of what they call the North river, which is two Mile broad, and Navigable a great way up) present the most beautiful, and appears like a Nobleman's Park, in which the greatest pains had been taken to lay out the ground to the greatest advantage, in order to please the eye — I have not yet been able to go into the Country, but it is represented as very fine — The barracks are at the skirts of the City, and in the most elevated part of it, which gives us all the air that is stirring The chief Market is near half a mile from us, there are 6 or 7 others, some nearer — The ship by which this goes is the Sampson, Captain Coupar, for London, she sails tomorrow (27th), so that it is almost time to conclude. I fear that I have wrote the above so fast & so small that it will be scarcely legible to you — But as you have time it will afford you some days amusement to make it out. . . .

Pray let me hear from you by all opportunities, as letters cost little or nothing from hence to London — I hope your health continues, and that you keep up your spirits — We are pretty certain of remaining here two or three years, unless something extraordinary happens; our future destination is

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quite uncertain.¹ I met here an old acquaintance of yours, who used to play backgammon with you at Edinburgh and London, and who says you gave him up, his name is Campbell; I believe he is on half pay.

Nancy has been writing to her Sisters, and therefore hopes My Mother will excuse her till next time — I have wrote three sheets to Exeter, so that you will say I have not been Idle for some days — Nancy desires her kindest love to you, and wishes to hear from my Mother —

I am Dearest Father & Mother, your most affecte Son
Fredck Mackenzie

¹ Mackenzie did not remain two or three years in New York, as he forecast, but only a little over a year. The "something extraordinary" which he did not foresee, but which was bound up in his remark that the people of Boston were "remarkable for their aversion to people with red coats on," was Gage's growing difficulty with the Whigs of Massachusetts, which caused him to summon more and more of his regiments from New York to Boston. The Welch Fusiliers went to Boston in August, 1774, to remain there until the Evacuation in March, 1776. And there, in January, 1775, the extant volumes of the Mackenzie diary begin.

THE DIARY

THE DIARY

Boston.

5th Jan^y [1775]

Orders given that when working parties are ordered, the Quarter Master of the day is to parade them, and see them march off.

6th Jan^y. Two men p^r Regiment have been employed daily for some time past in making Musquet Cartridges for the use of the Army.

7th Jan^y.

8th. It has been signified to the Army, that if any Officers of the different Regiments are capable of taking Sketches of a Country, they are to send their names to the Deputy Adjutant General.[†]

I am afraid not many Officers in this Army will be found qualified for this Service. It is a branch of Military education too little attended to, or sought after by our Officers, and yet is not only extremely necessary and useful in time of War, but very entertaining and instructive. We have only one professed Engineer here, and altho it is natural to suppose that he has

[†] The reader will find it interesting to compare Mackenzie's sober remarks on this order, with those of Lieutenant John Barker, of the King's Own Regiment. "That is an extraordinary method of wording the Order; it might at least have been in a more genteel way; at present it looks as if he doubted whether there were any such." (The British in Boston, p. 18.) Mackenzie's comments give reasons for Gage's wording of his order. The result of the General's request is to be found in "General Gage's Instructions . . . with a Curious Narrative of Occurrences," by Ensign Henry De Berniere, Boston, 1779, reprinted in 2 Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, iv, 204 ff.

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taken every opportunity of making himself thoroughly acquainted with, not only the ground within a certain distance of this town, (in case by any change of circumstances there should be a necessity for a minute knowledge of it) but that of the surrounding Country, I am apprehensive he has at this moment a very imperfect knowledge of either the one or the other.

Some of the Officers who have been appointed Assistant Engineers, hardly know the names of the different parts of a Fortification. They should have been called overseers of the works, or rather Workmen, and then they would not have been laughed at for their ignorance, as they now are.

9th Jan^y

10th

11th Jan^y

12th

13th Jan^y

14th. The Troops ordered to receive four days salt, and three days fresh, provisions p^r week, 'till further orders. To begin receiving at 9 in the Morning, and an hour allowed for each Corps.

The Marines and Hospitals to continue to receive fresh provisions 'till further notice.

15th Jan^y. The Regiments are frequently practiced at firing with ball at marks. Six rounds p^r man at each time is usually allotted for this practice. As our Regiment is quartered on a Wharf which projects into part of the harbour, and there is a very considerable range without any obstruction, we have fixed figures of men as large as life, made of thin boards, on small

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stages, which are anchored at a proper distance from the end of the Wharf, at which the men fire. Objects afloat, which move up and down with the tide, are frequently pointed out for them to fire at, and Premiums are sometimes given for the best Shots, by which means some of our men have become excellent marksmen.¹

16th Jan^y

17th

18th Jan^y. This being the Anniversary of The Queen's birthday, 21 Guns were fired by The Royal Artillery; and the Picquets of the Line, drawn up below the Town house, fired three Vollies, at 12 oClock. The Ships of War fired at One oClock.

There was a numerous meeting of the Members of the Blue and Orange Society, who dined together at the British Coffee house.

19th

20th Jan^y. 2^{ed} Lieu^t John Boadil² Forlow of the 23rd Regiment, who died a few days ago, was buried this day with the usual Military honors.

¹ This passage is valuable as showing that the British gave their men more target practice than has commonly been supposed.

² This middle name is given as Boadil in the Boston Evening Post of Jan. 23, 1775, as Bradie by the Army List. The surname is given as Furlow by the Evening Post and by Barker, Forlow by the Army List. He was 23 years of age (Evening Post) and "had long been ill of a Consumption" (Barker). That there was considerable sickness among Gage's little army appears in a statement in the Evening Post, 30th January, 1775, that since the 10th of July there had died "1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 123 Men, Women, and Children, besides several Seamen from the Men of War and Transports." John Andrews writes of the soldiers' cemetery, "which they have improved for upwards of a hundred already." He records much sickness in Mackenzie's regiment. (Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, vol. 8, pp. 393 and 397.)

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21st. As there was some disturbance last night, and a quarrel between some Officers and the town Watch, the General has ordered a Court of Enquirey, composed of five Field Officers, to examine into the cause and circumstances of it, and report thereon to him.

22^{ed} Jan^y

23rd. A Detachment consisting of $\overset{\text{C}}{-1} - \overset{\text{S}}{3} - \overset{\text{S}}{4} - \overset{\text{C}}{4} - \overset{\text{D}}{2} - \overset{\text{P}}{100}$,¹ embarked this afternoon on board The Armed Schooner Diana, and the Sloop Britannia, with 7 days provisions, thier Barrack bedding, a few necesaries, and baggage sufficient for ten or 14 days. This Detachment is under the Command of Captain Balfour of the 4th Regiment, and is going to some town on the Coast not far distant.

24th Jan^y The General being much displeased with the conduct of the Officers concerned in the late disturbance, and anxious to prevent just cause of complaint on the part of the Townspeople, has, in a private order,² directed the Commanding Officers of Corps to assemble their Officers, and shew them the impropriety of the conduct of some of them, which has afforded the King's enemies the very advantage they seek, and given room for reflections which dishonor the Service. To point out to them the illls that must arise from their assembling to game and drink, which lays the foundation for Quarrels and Riots, and that the attacking the Watch of any Town in all

¹ Here and in the diarist's other tables C stands for Captain, S for Subalterns, S for Sergeants, C for Corporals, D for Drummers, and P for Privates. Barker gives the same numbers.

² This private order of the governor, which no one but Mackenzie reports, affords new proof of Gage's desire to act fairly by the Bostonians. Barker condemned the watch as the aggressors.

IN REVOLUTIONARY BOSTON

parts of the World, must be attended with bad consequences: for as they ¹ are appointed by Law, the Law will protect them. They ² will also shew them that no person who quarrels with them ³ will obtain satisfaction for the injuries he may receive, but on the contrary will be condemned. They are desired to inform their Officers that the Commander in Chief is determined to make the strictest enquirey into the conduct of all Officers concerned in quarrels or Riots with the Towns people, and try them if in fault. They will remind the Officers of the orders already given out in that respect, and of the directions given to the Guards to prevent them.

25th Jan^y. The Detachment which sailed on the 23rd Ins^t has landed at Marshfield.

26th

27th Jan^y

28th

29th Jan^y. Fourteen days Salt provisions have been ordered to be sent to Marshfield, for the Detachment stationed there under the Command of Captain Balfour.

30th. There has been no material alteration of late in the Detail of the public duties; but the duty is done with the utmost strictness, as the ferment among the people has by no means subsided.

We have a free intercourse with the Country, but the people are evidently making every preparation for resistance. They are taking every means to provide themselves with Arms; and

¹ The watch.

² The commanding officers.

³ The watch.

A BRITISH FUSILIER

are particularly desirous of procuring the Locks of firelocks, which are easily conveyed out of town without being discovered by the Guards.

31st January.

1st February. A Garrison Court Martial assembled this day for the trial of some Soldiers for selling firelocks, and locks to the Country people.

2^{ed} Feb^y. Notwithstanding the pains which have been taken to prevent Spirituous liquors from being sold to the Soldiers, Soldiers wives and others find means to dispose of the New England Rum to them in such quantities, and at so cheap a rate, that numbers of them are intoxicated daily. Some of them have sold Spirits of so pernicious a quality, that two men died in one night, affected by it in an extraordinary manner. The towns people encourage this excessive drinking, as when the Soldiers are in a State of intoxication they are frequently induced to desert.

3rd Feb. It has been customary of late, and approved of by The General, for some of the Regiments to go out of town, with their Arms, Accoutrements, and knapsacks, when the weather permits and they are off duty, and march three four or five miles into the Country. This practice is conducive to the health of the troops; and may enable the General to send Regiments or Detachments to particular parts of the Country without occasioning so much alarm as would otherwise take place.

Our Regiment marched out this day towards Cambridge. The people appear apprehensive that something particular is

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concealed under these movements; and there are always some persons appointed to Watch the motions and direction of the Troops.

Boston, 4th Feb. 1775. A Soldier of the 4th Reg^t who was tried a few days ago for disposing of Arms to the towns people, has been found guilty and sentenced to receive 500 lashes.

A Serjeant and two Soldiers of the 38th Reg^t tried for the same crime, have been acquitted.

5th. The Detachment under the Command of Captain Balfour of the 4th Regiment, remains at Marshfield.

6th Feb.

7th

8th Feb. The 23rd Regiment marched into the Country this day towards Watertown. The Country people seem extremely jealous of these movements (which are more frequent than they were), as they apprehend they are intended to cover some design the General has formed.

9th

10th Feb. The Soldiers wives and other persons, still find means of selling Spirituous liquors to the Troops, which occasions much drunkenness and many irregularities.

11th. Fourteen days pay and provisions at a time is regularly sent to the Detachment at Marshfield.

12th Feb.

13th

14th Feb.

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15th

16th Feb. The General having ordered a reinforcement of 9 men to the Magazine guard this Evening; and directed the several patrols in going their rounds to be watchful, and to report if they observe numerous parties of people assembled in bye lanes or otherwise; gives reason to suppose that he has received information of some intended tumultuous assemblage of the Seditious party.

17th. A Guard of a Serjeant, Corporal and 12 Privates, ordered to mount at the Artillery work Shop on the Common.

18th Feb.

19th

20th Feb.

21st

22^{ed} Feb. Very soft, mild day. Thermometer 52°.

23rd. Cold, raw weather. Wind E. Therm^r 40°.

24th Feb. Cold day. Rain; which froze as it fell.

25th

26th Feb.

27th

28th Feb.

1st March. This being St. David's Day, the Officers of The 23rd Regiment, or Royal Welch Fusiliers, dined together according to Custom. All the General & Staff Officers, The Admiral, and several other persons were invited to dine with the Regiment.

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Officers of the Regiment.

Present, 1st March 1775.

Lieu^t. Col^o. Bernard

Major Blunt

Captain Grove

“ Blakeney

“ I. Ferguson

“ D. Ferguson

“ Donkin

“ Horsfall

“ Evans

1st Lieu^t Mackenzie

“ Douglas

“ Gibbings

“ Welsh

“ Cochran

“ Beckwith

“ Ridley

2nd Lieu^t Bernard

“ Fitzgerald

“ Julian

“ Blucke

“ Apthorpe

Surgeon Robertson

Persons invited were.

General Gage

Maj^r Gen^l. Haldimand

Brig^r Gen^l Earl Percy

“ Pigot.

“ Jones.

Admiral Graves.

Major Kemble—Dep. Adj^t Gen^l

Major Shirreff—Dep-Q M^r Gen^l

Major Hutcheson. Maj^r of Brigade

M^r Kemble. Sec^y to Com^r in Chief

M^r Gefferina. Sec^y to The Admiral.

Cap^t Rooke }
Cap^t Brehm } Aides de Camp

Cap^t Pawlett }
L^t. Carmichael } Formerly in the Reg^t.

Cap^t Ferrier }
Lieu^t Lewis } Welchmen

Rev^d Bush — Chaplain

All came but Gen^l Pigot,
who was unwell ¹

¹ The student finds some interest in the obscurer names in this list. Of the 23d Regiment (which Mackenzie, as usual, names as if he had no connection with it) here is a fairly complete roster, only the colonel, one captain, four first lieutenants, three second lieutenants, the chaplain and the quartermaster being absent. A number of them were presumably on duty. It will

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2^{ed} March

3rd

4th March. Rob^t Vaughan, a Soldier of the 52^{ed} Regiment was apprehended last night at Charlestown Ferry, attempting to Desert; and this day a General Court Martial was ordered to assemble to try him for the same.

5th This being Sunday, the Annual Oration, delivered in consequence of what is called by the Rebellious party, the Massacre of the 5th March 1770, on which day some rioters were killed & wounded by the Military; was postponed until to-morrow.

6th March. Warm day. Therm^r 54°.

This day having been appointed by the Selectmen of Boston for the delivery, according to Annual custom, of an Oration in commemoration of the 5th March 1770, on which day some Inhabitants of this town were killed and wounded, in a Riot, by the Military: at 10 o'Clock the Old South Meeting ¹ was

be remarked that the regiment has second lieutenants instead of ensigns, the only one in the army to be thus organized. Among the guests is Brigade Major Francis Hutcheson, whose somewhat dreary correspondence with Haldimand is preserved in the British Museum. In this he draws a not very flattering picture of his superior, Major Shirreff, the Deputy Quartermaster General. And he gives a glimpse of the youngest officer at the dinner. "Mr. Haldimand [the general's nephew] has taken a liking to young Mr. Apthorp of the 23d Regt. who will be a very good acquaintance for him as he is a very good young man." Captain (later Major) Donkin published in New York in 1777 the "Military Collections and Remarks" which throw some light upon these times.

¹ Mackenzie uses very naturally the American phrase, which omitted the word House. It is evident that Mackenzie was present in person at Warren's oration. He gives here in one entry facts which previously have had to be gathered from various sources (Barker, Samuel Adams, Andrews, Elbridge Gerry). Writing with his accustomed coolness, Mackenzie, though his sympathies are clear, is not unduly partisan, and his account of the affair may be more safely followed than any other.

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opened for the purpose, and an immense concourse of people assembled therein. As this assemblage was undoubtedly intended to inflame the minds of the people, and The Troops conceived it was a great insult, under the present circumstances, to deliver an Oration on the Occasion, a great number of Officers assembled in the Church and seemed determined to take notice of, and resent any expressions made use of by The Orator, reflecting on the Military.¹ About 11 o'Clock, Doctor Joseph Warren, an Apothecary² of Boston came in, and ascended the Pulpit³; which was hung with Black Cloth. He was attended by all the most violent fellows in town, particularly Hancock, the Adams's, Church, Cooper, and the rest of the Select Men. Every person was silent, and every countenance seemed to denote that some event of consequence might be expected. The Oration, which, tho severe on the conduct of the Military, and evidently calculated to excite the resentment of the populace against them, contained nothing so violent as was expected, was delivered without any other interruption than a few hisses from some of the Officers.

As this meeting was called an Adjournment of a former Town meeting,⁴ as soon as the Oration was ended, Mr Sam^l

¹ The officers were there, therefore, to resent any insult to their uniform. Warren, by confining himself to the wider political aspects of the question, gave them no cause for a disturbance.

² The word apothecary in those days, and for a long time afterward, was not necessarily confined to pharmacists.

³ "Came in and ascended the Pulpit." If Mackenzie saw this, the story that Warren entered the pulpit through the window is disproved.

⁴ Again Mackenzie shows his clear mind by recognizing the device by which the Whigs kept their town meeting alive, contrary to the intention of the Regulating Act.

A BRITISH FUSILIER

Adams came forward from a Pew in which he and the other Select men sat, very near the Pulpit, and moved, "that the thanks of the Town should be presented to Doctor Warren for his Elegant and Spirited Oration, and that another Oration should be delivered on the 5th of March next, to commemorate *the Bloody Mafsacre* of the 5th of March 1770." On this several Officers began to hiss; others cried out, "*Oh! fie! Oh! fie!*" and a great bustle ensued. As everyone was now in motion, intending to go out, there was a good deal of noise, and the exclamation was mistaken for the cry of *Fire! Fire!* Numbers immediately called out *Fire! Fire!* which created a Scene of the greatest confusion imaginable. As there were numbers of Women in the Meeting, their cries encreased the confusion, which was further encreased by the Drums & fifes of the 43rd Regiment which happened to be passing by from Exercise. Some persons leaped out of the lower windows, and in a short time the Meeting was nearly cleared. As soon as the mistake was discovered, and things grew quiet, The Select men proceeded to the Choice of some public Officers, which being finished, the people dispersed. Some of the Select men were extremely alarmed when they heard the Drums of the 43rd Regiment, as it is supposed they expected to be apprehended.

The towns people certainly expected a Riot, as almost every man had a short stick, or bludgeon, in his hand; and it was confidently asserted that many of them were privately armed.— They no doubt supposed that some violent expressions in the Oration would have induced the Officers to act improperly, and strike, or lay hands on some of the party, which would have

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been the signal for Battle. It is certain both sides were ripe for it, and a single blow would have occasioned the commencement of hostilities.¹ Fortunately nothing of the kind happened, nor was any person hurt in the confusion. General Gage also was apprehensive of a Riot, and had ordered the Regiments to be in readiness to get under arms in case of an alarm.

7th March. It was thought by most people, that last night would have been productive of some riot, or disturbance, but contrary to expectation, all was quiet.

8th A Country fellow was detected this day in buying arms from a Soldier of the 47th Reg^t.² The men of that Regiment immediately secured him, and having provided the proper materials, they stripped, and then Tarred & feathered him, and setting him upon a Truck, in that manner paraded him, in the afternoon, through most parts of the town, to The Neck. This matter was done with the knowledge of the Officers of the Regiment, altho they did not appear in it, and it gave great Offence to the people of the town, and was much disapproved of by General Gage. Arms of all kinds are so much sought after by the Country people, that they use every means of procuring them; and have been successful amongst the Soldiers, several of whom have been induced to dispose of Arms, or such parts of

¹ Again Mackenzie correctly analyses the feelings of his opponents, pointing out that, while they were ready for violence, they would not begin by any overt act. — As the editor has pointed out elsewhere, Gage here lost his best opportunity to cripple the rebellion.


² This episode is rehearsed again and again in American narratives, but here appears for the first time in a British account. Mackenzie's statement that the officers did not actually take part in the affair, is valuable, contradicting as it does the American statements. See "The Journals of Each Provincial Congress," p. 131, footnote, for the fullest American account.

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Arms, as they could come at. Perhaps this transaction may deter the Country fellows from the like practices in future.

The practice of Tarring & Feathering¹ as a punishment is very ancient. When Richard the 1st of England resolved to go to The Holy Land, with Philip King of France, several very severe Regulations were made by him at Chinon in France in the year 1189, for keeping the Soldiers and Sailors in awe whom he embarked for that Country. Among others, "Thieves "were to have their heads shaved, to have boiling Pitch dropped "upon their Crowns; and after having Cushion-Feathers stuck "upon the Pitch, they were to be set on shore, in that figure, "at the first place they came to." Rymer's Faedera. Vol. 1st Page 65.

9th March. Rob^t Vaughan, the Soldier of the 52nd Reg^t who was apprehended the night of the 3rd Ins^t, attempting to desert, by way of Charlestown ferry, was tried on the 6th and 7th, and being found guilty, was ordered to be shot for the same, as this morning; but about 9 oClock last night it was notified to the Troops, that his Execution was respited till further orders.

 This man was afterwards pardoned, but deserted to the Rebels in a short time.²

10th. The Guards ordered to mount with fixed Bayonets for the future.

11th March. The Advanced Guards at the Lines have of late

¹ This paragraph is Mackenzie's own note upon this occasion, written upon the left-hand page facing the previous entry. Commonly he used only the right-hand pages, occasionally utilizing the others for such statements as the list of officers at the banquet, above.

² This last sentence appears as a note in the diary.

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been ordered to send out patrols towards Roxbury. A patrol going out last night, fell in with a party of the Roxbury people, with Arms, patrolling towards our Lines, but as soon as the latter perceived our people they took to their heels towards Roxbury.

12th. [No entry, but on a following page is the memorandum:]
Strength of the Rank & file of the 1st brigade. 12th March.

4 th	315	} 1291 *
23 rd	314	
47 th	296	
Marines.....	336	

13th March 1775. Rob^t Vaughan of the 52^{ed} Regiment, whose execution was respited on the 8th Ins^t has since been pardoned.

14th. The lenity shown to Rob^t Vaughan has not had the effect the General expected, as some Soldiers have deserted since that event; — He has therefore notified to the Army, that as he finds his Clemency has had so little effect in bringing the Soldiers to a sense of their duty to their King and Country, and to reflect seriously on the Sin they commit in deserting the Service of both, this is the last man he will pardon who shall be condemned for desertion.

15th March.

16th Rain from 12 o'Clock.

The Provincial Congress having recommended a General Fast on this day throughout the Province, the same was strictly

* Addition shows Mackenzie's figures to be defective. These four regiments composed the First Brigade (Lord Percy's), which on the morning of the 19th of April marched out to Lexington and supported the detachment retreating from Concord.

A BRITISH FUSILIER

observed by the Inhabitants of this town. All the Shops were shut up, and all business suspended.

17th March. The former part of this month has been extremely mild and pleasant, and without Frost. But there was Snow from 8 last night 'till 9 this morning. Very Cold day.

There was a very full meeting this day of The Friendly Brothers of S^t Patrick, who went in procession to Church. There was no general meeting of the Irish.

18th. The January Mail arrived this day from England by way of New York.¹

A Country man was Stopped at the Lines, going out of town with 19,000 ball Cartridges, which were taken from him. When liberated, he had the insolence to go to Head quarters to demand the redelivery of them. When asked who they were for, he said they were for his own use; and on being refused them, he said he could not help it, but they were the last parcel of a large quantity which he had carried out at different times. Great numbers of Arms have been carried out of town during the Winter; and if more strict search had been made at the Lines, many of them, and much Ammunition might have been seized.²

19th March.

¹ Because of the enforcement of the Port Bill, only warships and troopships were allowed to enter Boston harbor. Salem had been designated a port in its place.

² On the subject of the smuggling of arms and ammunition out of Boston, see John Andrews' letter of March 18th, 1775 — the same date as Mackenzie's entry — and also the petition of Robert Pierpont to Gage. Pierpont seems to have been the man mentioned by both Andrews and Mackenzie. The petition (unpublished) is in the Samuel Adams papers, MSS Division, N. Y. Public Library, under date of March 20, 1775.

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20th. Orders given for those Regiments that were encamped last Summer, and delivered their tents to the Quarter M^r General, to send for them, and repair them immediately.

21st March. The working parties ordered for work at the Lines are discontinued; but as some work there is necessary, 20 men have been added to the numbers for duty there, and the Officer Commanding is directed to order 20 men of the Guard to be employed to work under the direction of the Engineer, & to be releived every hour or two hours, as may be thought proper.

22^{ed}

23rd March. The Artillery not being able to make up Cartridges sufficient to supply the Troops, orders are given to supply each Corps with a proportion of the several materials, which they are to make up into Cartridges for their own use.

24th

25th March.

26th. The Asia of 64 Guns, Cap^t Vandeput, went down the harbour, and anchored in King road.¹ She is going to New York.

27th March. There was a dispute lately on the Evening parade of the 5th Regiment, between Lieu^t Col^o Walcott, and Ensign Patrick of that Corps, at the close of which the former struck the latter, and drew his Sword upon him, which occasioned a Challenge; but the Officers having interfered, and the matter having been reported to Gen^l Gage, he ordered them both to be put under arrest, and tried by a General Court Martial,

¹ King Road is the President Roads of our day.

A BRITISH FUSILIER

which assembled this day for that purpose. Ensign Patrick is related to the Lieu^t Colonel.¹

28th March. Whenever the weather is fine, some of the Regiments off duty* continue the practice of marching into the Country to the distance of from 4 to 8 Miles, with Arms, Knapsacks, &c, and return before dinner.

The people of the Country are extremely jealous of these movements, and some of them constantly attend, apparently to observe if there is any particular object in view, and to convey intelligence if necessary.

29th. The Guard at the Lines ordered to be reduced to its former Number of 120 men. And a working party of an Officer and 20 men ordered to be sent there.²

The Detachment under Cap^t Balfour of the 4th continues at Marshfield. — Pay and Provisions are sent to them once a fortnight.³

30th March. Orders were given last night about 8 o'Clock, for the 1st Brigade to be under arms on the Grand parade at 6 oClock this Morning with their knapsacks on. The 4 Com-

¹ This affair, insignificant nowadays, occupies much space, perhaps to the exclusion of more important matters, in the diaries of both Mackenzie and Barker, who as officers were interested in anything professional. To Barker's fuller account of the original quarrel, Mackenzie adds the significant statement that the colonel and the ensign were related. The entry of April 15th in both diaries is copied almost word for word from the same original. The court martial was composed of brigadiers Haldimand, Pigot, and Percy; the order for it (which calls it a court of honour) is preserved in a letter from Gage to Haldimand, desiring him to serve. (British Museum, Additional MSS 21,665, no. 340.)

² The practical reason for this change, the saving of the soldiers' clothes, is given in Barker's entry for the 30th.

³ This is Mackenzie's last entry concerning the Marshfield expedition. At the news of the Nineteenth of April, Balfour and his men embarked at Brant Rock, and reached Boston safely.

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panies of Light Infantry, and 4 Companies of Grenadiers on the right of the whole.

1st Brigade — 4th 23rd 47th Regiments, & Marines.*

31st March. Slight frost at night.

1st April. Frost at night. Mild day.

2^{ed} April. A vessel arrived at Salem which sailed from Falmouth in England the 14th February. It appears by the letters and papers brought by her, that a large reinforcement of Ships and Troops may be soon expected to arrive in this Country.

Orders given for the Troops to repair their Camp-kettles and other Utensils, in case they should be suddenly wanted before others arrive.

3rd Slight frost last night.

4th April. Frost last night. Mild day

5th Snow from 4 'till 8 last night, then rain for some hours; after which it Snowed 'till 12 this day. All the surrounding Country is covered with it.

6th April. Cold weather.

7th. The following order was given out this day.

“As Regiments are often ordered to take Marches, and continue out too long to get their dinners dressed at proper hours; and may hereafter more frequently be ordered, either by Regiments or Brigades; every Corps will have one day's pork ready cooked, which the men may carry out with them in their knapsacks or Havresacks, with bread in proportion.” From this order, and several other circumstances, it is supposed the General has some object in view, and means to familiarize

* Barker tells briefly of this march and the alarm it caused.

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the people of the Country with the appearance of Troops among them for a longer time than usual, without creating an alarm.

8th April. Frost last night.

9th. The weather begins now to grow mild and pleasant.

Weekly Return of the 23rd Reg^t or R. W. Fusiliers. Ap^l. 1775

	S	C	D	P	S	C	D	P
Effectives	20	30	12	296
Sick in quarters				
Sick in hospital				
Absent with leave				
On Furlow				
Recruiting				
Music not doing duty				
Public Employ				
With the Artillery				
Armourers				
Prisoners				
Hospital Guard, and orderly men				
Barrack Guard				
Rear Guard				
Quarter Guard				
Ordinary Guards				
Off Duty				
Total	20	30	12	296

Given in at 2 o'Clock every Monday

Fred^{ck} Mackenzie L^t & Adj^t
R. W. Fusiliers.

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10th April. The 38th and 52^{ed} Regiments marched out this Morning as far as Watertown, and did not return to Boston 'till 5 oClock in the Afternoon. As Watertown is farther than the Regiments have usually gone, and they remained out longer, the Country was a good deal alarmed on the Occasion.

11th. Fine weather.

As the Tents belonging to our Regiment have all been repaired, we pitched them on Fort Hill this day, by way of airing them, and seeing that every thing was in proper order.

12th April. Rain mixed with hail from 12 last night, and during the whole of this day. The Rain was very heavy about 6 in the Evening, with a Strong wind at East.

Orders given for the Officers to provide themselves with Baggage Saddles, at the rate of 3 p^r Company; viz^t One for the Captain, One for the Companies tents, and one for the two Subalterns. As Pack Saddles cannot be had in this Country, Sunks and Sods (a kind of Baggage Saddle used by the troops during the German war) are recommended as the best substitutes.

Materials for Sunks or Sods — a
kind of baggage Saddle.

	<small>s</small>	<small>d</small>	<small>s</small>
2 Yards of Sail Cloth at 1.6	3	0	
4 yards of Osnabrucks ^z 1	4	0	
Leather	1	6	
Twine	6		
			9.0
Besides labor			

^z Osnabruck was a coarse cloth, frequently spelled Osnabrig.

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13th April.

14th. Arrived The Nautilus Sloop of War of — Guns, Captain —, in 30 days from England. Letters dated the 12th March have been received by her.

The Contractors having declined giving fresh meat to the Troops, orders have been given for their being supplied with Salt provisions 'till further orders.¹

15th April. The Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies were this day Ordered to be off all duty 'till further orders, as they will be ordered out to learn the Grenadier Exercise, and some New Evolutions for the Light Infantry.²

The Sentence of the General Court Martial which sat for the trial of Lieu^t Col^o Walcott and Ensign Patrick of the 5th Regiment, was this day published in Orders, in the following words.

The General Court Martial of which Brigadier Pigot is President, for the trial of Lieu^t Col^o Walcott, and Ensign Patrick of the 5th Reg^t of Foot, for quarreling, and the consequences that ensued, which were reported to be blows given, and a Challenge to fight; is of Opinion that the said Lieu^t Col^o Walcott is Guilty, first, of quarreling with Ensign Patrick; Secondly of making use of reproachful, menacing and abusive language; thirdly, of giving a blow, to and drawing his Sword upon the said Ensign Patrick, on the public parade in presence

¹ "This," says Barker, "is because Meat happens now to be a trifle dearer than usual; so these Contractors are to have all the advantages and none of the disadvantages!"

² "This," wrote Barker, "I suppose is by way of a blind. I dare say they have something for them to do." Coming after the order of the 7th, concerning supplies, and that of the 12th, concerning pack-saddles, this order roused the suspicion not only of the British but also of the provincials. Gage was planning his expedition of the 18th, of which both Barker and Mackenzie give such full accounts.

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of the Officers of the Regiment, when addresssing the former as Commanding Officer; which conduct the Court considers as highly prejudicial to good order and Military discipline, as well as ungentlemanlike; which the Court find to be a breach of the 1st Article of the 7th Section, & of the 3rd article of the 20th Section, of The Articles of War; therefore sentence the said Lieu^t Col^o Walcott to ask Ensign Patrick's pardon at the head of the 5th Regiment (The 2^{ed} brigade under arms) for the insult given him, and then and there to be reprimanded for unmilitary, and ungentlemanlike behavior; and also to be suspended for the space of three months.

The Court acquits Lieu^t Col^o Walcott of giving Ensign Patrick a Challenge to fight.

It is further the opinion of the Court Martial that Ensign Robert Patrick is not guilty, either of quarreling with Lieu^t Col^o Walcott on the Evening of the 23rd March, or of giving a blow: and it appearing also to the Court, that the evidence produced does not prove Ensign Patrick guilty of giving Lieu^t Col^o Walcott a Challenge to fight, the said Ensign Robert Patrick is acquitted of every part of the charge exhibited against him.

The Commander in Chief approves of the above Sentences.

The above General Court Martial is dissolved.

The 2^{ed} Brigade to be under arms on Monday Morning the 17th Instant, at 11 oClock, on the Common, when The Brigadier Commanding the 2^{ed} brigade will reprimand Lieu^t Col^o Walcott, agreeable to the Sentence of the General Court Martial.

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16th April. The Majors and Adjutants of Regiments, ordered to instruct the Grenadiers of their own Corps in the Grenadier Exercise. — It was also notified in Orders that the Light Companies would be instructed in the New Manoeuvres by Lieu^t Mackenzie, Adjutant of the 23rd Regiment, who would fix with respective Captains the time of assembling.¹

17th

18th April 1775. An order was received this afternoon before 6 o'Clock, signifying the Commander in Chief's pleasure that the suspension ordered L^t Col^o Walcott of the 5th Reg^t shall be taken off, from this day inclusive. — It also stated, that it has appeared throughout the course of the trial of L^t Col^o Walcott, and Ensign Patrick, that the said Ensign Patrick did behave disrespectfully to his Commanding Officer, but it not being inserted in his Crime, the Court did not proceed upon it, and L^t Col^o Walcott now excuses it, and will not bring it to a trial; but the Com^r in Chief thinks proper to warn Ensign Patrick, that he behaves with more respect for the future to his Commanding Officer.

At 8 this night the Commanding Officers of Regiments were sent for to Headquarters, and ordered to have their respective Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies on the beach near the Magazine Guard exactly at 10 o'Clock this night, with one day's provisions in their Havresacks, and without knapsacks.

¹ This may again have been a blind, or there may actually have been some special instruction for the coming service. It is known that General Howe, then on his way to Boston, had been in 1774 instructing the Light Infantry encamped at Salisbury in some "new manoeuvres" of his own invention.

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— They were directed to order their Companies to parade quietly at their respective Barracks, and to march to the place of Rendezvous in small parties, and if Challenged to answer "*Patrole*." — The Companies of our Regiment (the 23rd) marched accordingly, and were the first, complete, at the place of parade; Here we found a number of the Men of War's and Transports boats in waiting. — As there was no public Officer attending to superintend the Embarkation, which it was evident would take up a good deal of time, our two Companies, with the approbation of the Officers of the Navy, embarked in the nearest boats, and pushed off a little way from the shore. As the other Companies arrived soon after, as many men embarked as the boats would contain. By this time Lieu^t Col^o Smith of the 10th, who was to have the Command, arrived, and with him Major Pitcairn of the Marines. The boats then put off, and rowed towards Phipps's farm, where having landed the troops they returned for the remainder and landed them at the same place. This was not completed untill 12 o'Clock.

The Companies embarked are,

Grenadiers — 4th, 5th, 10th, 18th, 23rd, 38th, 43rd, 47th, 59th Reg^{ts}.
1st & 2^{ed} Marines.

Light Infantry — 4th, 5th, 10th, 23rd, 38th, 43rd, 47th, 59th, & 1st
& 2^{ed} Marines.¹

¹ The composition of Smith's force has long been the subject of speculation, and estimates of its strength have varied all the way from 600 to 1000 men. Richard Pope's Book, an authority already cited in the editor's notes, gives the number of companies as twenty-one. A letter of a private soldier printed in Force's Archives confirms this. Mackenzie's list gives us our first detailed information on the subject, and as to the number of companies he confirms the authorities just mentioned. Ten regiments contributed their two flank companies, while the

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L^t Col^o Smith, & Major Pitcairn are the two Field Officers first for duty, and the Senior of each rank.¹

The town was a good deal agitated and alarmed at this Movement, as it was pretty generally known, by means of the Seamen who came on shore from the Ships, about 2 o'Clock, that the boats were ordered to be in readiness.

19th April. At 7 o'Clock this morning a Brigade order was received by our Regiment, dated at 6 o'Clock, for the 1st Brigade to assemble at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 on the Grand parade. We accordingly assembled the Regiment with the utmost expedition, and with the 4th, and 47th were on the parade at the hour appointed,

odd company of Grenadiers was furnished by the 18th Regiment. Only three companies of this regiment were in Boston and they in conjunction with two companies of the 65th formed a small provisional battalion known as the Incorporated Corps. They were attached to the Third Brigade and evidently included no light troops. In clarifying the situation in one respect Mackenzie has confused it in another. He omits the companies of the 52nd Regiment in his list and includes those of the Second Battalion of Marines. Now the 52nd was certainly represented in the field, their casualties including a sergeant and five private men. Moreover, the order for the formation of the Second Battalion of Marines bears the date of May 20. Is it possible that in copying his diary Mackenzie found that his data on Smith's force lacked two companies? In that case, he might have had a mental lapse regarding the 52nd and from memory completed the list with the Second Marines. He was certainly mistaken in his omission of the 52nd. If he is right as to the Marines, then it is clear that Smith went out with twenty-three companies. Mackenzie says that the two companies of the Fusiliers aggregated sixty-four men or an average of thirty-two for each. This may be safely accepted as a fair average for the other companies and so his list leaves us to decide whether there were twenty-one or twenty-three companies of thirty-two men each in Smith's command. Probably Mackenzie was as wrong in his addition as in his subtraction; at all events, he has reduced our quandary to the simple question whether Smith went out with a little less or a little more than 700 men — H. M.

¹ This supplies the reason, hitherto unknown, for the choice of these two officers for this duty. Evidently regimental officers and not field officers were of proper rank to command this detachment. The reader will note Smith's dilatoriness at the embarkation.

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with one days provisions. By some mistake the Marines did not receive the order until the other Regiments of the Brigade were assembled,¹ by which means it was half past 8 o'Clock before the brigade was ready to march. Here we understood that we were to march out of town to support the troops that went out last night. A quarter before 9, we marched in the following order, Advanced Guard, of a Captain and 50 men; 2 Six pounders, 4th Reg^t, 47th Regiment, 1st Battⁿ of Marines, 23rd Reg^t, or Royal Welch Fusiliers, Rear Guard, of a Captain & 50 men. The whole under the Command of Brigadier General Earl Percy. We went out of Boston by the Neck, and marched thro' Roxbury, Cambridge and Menotomy, towards Lexington.² In all the places we marched through, and in the houses on the road, few or no people were to be seen; and the houses were in general shut up. When we arrived near Lexington, some persons who came from Concord,³ informed that the Grenadiers & Light Infantry were at that place, and that some persons had been killed and wounded by them early in the

¹ This mistake was caused chiefly by forgetfulness that Pitcairn was already gone. See the letter of July 5, 1775, in "Detail and Conduct of the American War," 3d edition, London, 1780, p. 10.

² For Percy's exact route see "The Record of Streets, Alleys, Places, etc., in the City of Boston," under Old Road to Roxbury, pp. 348, 349. He crossed the Charles at the present Stadium Bridge (the "Great Bridge"), and went on to Menotomy (modern Arlington) and Lexington by Massachusetts Avenue, except for slight deviations from the old road.

³ Compare the "Letters of Hugh Earl Percy," p. 51: "About this time (which was between 1 and 2 o'clk in the afternoon) I met with L^t. Gould of the King's Own Reg, who was wounded, & who informed me that the Gren^s & L I had been attacked by the rebels about daybreak, & were retiring." Gould, wounded at Concord bridge, was in a chaise but a short distance ahead of the detachment. After passing Percy's troops he was taken prisoner in Menotomy.

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morning at Lexington. As we pursued our march, about 2 o'Clock we heard some straggling shots fired about a mile in our front: — As we advanced we heard the firing plainer and more frequent, and at half after 2, being near the Church at Lexington, and the fire encreasing, we were ordered to form the Line, which was immediately done by extending on each side of the road, but by reason of the Stone walls and other obstructions, it was not formed in so regular a manner as it should have been. The Grenadiers & Light Infantry were at this time retiring towards Lexington, fired upon by the Rebels, who took every advantage the face of the Country afforded them.¹ As soon as The Grenadiers & Light Infantry perceived the 1st Brigade drawn up for their support, they shouted repeatedly, and the firing ceased for a short time.

The ground we first formed upon was something elevated, and commanded a view of that before us for about a mile, where it was terminated by some pretty high grounds covered with wood. The Village of Lexington lay between both parties. We could observe a Considerable number of the Rebels, but they were much scattered, and not above 50 of them to be seen in a body in any place. Many lay concealed behind the Stone walls and fences. They appeared most numerous in the road near the Church, and in a wood in the front, and on the left flank of the line where our Regiment was posted. A few Cannon

¹ Mackenzie does not make the complaint which others, and notably Donkin of his regiment, indulged in, that the American method of taking cover was unmilitary. (See Donkin's "Military Collections and Remarks," 1777. Copies are at the Harvard and New York libraries.)

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Shot were fired at those on, and near the road, which dispersed them. The flank Companies now retired and formed behind the brigade, which was soon fired upon by the Rebels most advanced. A brisk fire was returned, but without much effect. As there was a piece of open Morafsy ground in front of the left of our Regiment, it would have been difficult to have passed it under the fire of the Rebels from behind the trees and walls on the other side. Indeed no part of the brigade was ordered to advance; we therefore drew up near the Morafs, in expectation of orders how to act, sending an Officer for one of the 6 pounders. During this time the Rebels endeavored to gain our flanks, and crept into the covered ground on either side, and as close as they could in front, firing now and then in perfect security. We also advanced a few of our best marksmen who fired at those who shewed themselves. About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 3, Earl Percy having come to a resolution of returning to Boston, and having made his disposition for that purpose, our Regiment received orders to form the Rear Guard. We immediately lined the Walls and other Cover in our front with some Marksmen, and retired from the right of Companies by files to the high ground a Small distance in our rear, where we again formed in line, and remained in that position for near half an hour, during which time the flank Companies, and the other Regiments of the Brigade, began their march in one Column on the road towards Cambridge. As the Country for many miles round Boston and in the Neighbourhood of Lexington & Concord, had by this time had notice of what was doing, as well by the firing, as from exprefses which had been from Boston and the adjacent places

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in all directions, numbers of armed men on foot and on horse-back, were continually coming from all parts guided by the fire, and before the Column had advanced a mile on the road, we were fired at from all quarters, but particularly from the houses on the roadside, and the Adjacent Stone walls. Several of the Troops were killed and wounded in this way, and the Soldiers were so enraged at suffering from an unseen Enemy, that they forced open many of the houses from which the fire proceeded, and put to death all those found in them. Those houses would certainly have been burnt had any fire been found in them, or had there been time to kindle any; but only three or four near where we first formed suffered in this way. As the Troops drew nearer to Cambridge the number and fire of the Rebels encreased, and altho they did not shew themselves openly in a body in any part, except on the road in our rear, our men threw away their fire very inconsiderately, and without being certain of its effect: this emboldened them, and induced them to draw nearer, but whenever a Cannon shot was fired at any considerable number, they instantly dispersed. Our Regiment having formed the Rear Guard for near 7 miles, and expended a great part of its ammunition, was then relieved by the Marines which was the next Battalion in the Column.

Lord Percy, judging that the returning to Boston by way of Cambridge, (where there was a bridge over Charles river, which might either be broken down, or require to be forced) and Roxbury, might be attended with some difficulties and many inconveniences, took the resolution of returning by way of Charlestown, which was the shortest road, and which could

vis from all points at the Column, which was the more galling as our flanking parties, which at first were placed at sufficient distances to cover the march of it, were at last, from the different obstructions they occasionally met with, ~~were at~~ ~~last~~ obliged to keep almost close to it, our men had very few opportunities of getting good shots at the Rebels, as they hardly ever fired but under cover of a stone wall, from behind a tree, or out of a house; and the moment they had fired they lay down out of sight until they had loaded again, or the Column had passed. — In the road indeed in our rear, they were most numerous, and came on pretty close, frequently calling out, "King Hancock for ever". — Many of them were killed in the houses on the road side from whence they fired; in some of them 7 or 8 men were destroyed. Some houses were forced open in which no person could be discovered, but when the Column had passed, numbers sallied out from some place in which they had lain concealed, fired at the rear Guard, and augmented the numbers which followed us. — If we had had time to set fire to those houses many Rebels must have perished in them, but as night drew on Lord Percy thought it best to continue the march. Many houses were plundered by the Soldiers, notwithstanding the efforts of the officers to prevent it, I have no

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be defended against any number of the Rebels.¹ Accordingly where the roads separate, the Column took that to the left, and passing over Charlestown Neck, drew up on the heights just above, and which Command it. This was about 7 oClock in the Evening. During the March, the Marines had been relieved in the duty of forming the rear guard by the 47th Regiment, and that Corps by the 4th. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry being exceedingly fatigued by their long march, kept at the head of the Column, where indeed, latterly, the fire was nearly as severe as in the rear. During the whole of the march from Lexington the Rebels kept an incessant irregular fire from all points at the Column, which was the more galling as our flanking parties, which at first were placed at sufficient distances to cover the march of it, were at last, from the different obstructions they occasionally met with, obliged to keep almost close to it. Our men had very few opportunities of getting good shots at the Rebels, as they hardly ever fired but under cover of a Stone wall, from behind a tree, or out of a house; and the moment they had fired they lay down out of sight until they had loaded again, or the Column had passed. In the road indeed in our rear, they were most numerous, and came on pretty close, frequently calling out, "*King Hancock forever.*" Many of them were killed in the houses on the road side from whence they fired; in some of them 7 or 8 men were destroyed. Some houses were forced open in which no person could be discovered,

¹ Percy's judgment was correct. The planks of the Great Bridge had been taken up, and the farther end was defended by minute-men. Leaving modern Massachusetts Avenue at Beech Street, Percy took the road through Somerville to Charlestown Neck.

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but when the Column had passed, numbers sallied out from some place in which they had lain concealed, fired at the rear Guard, and augmented the numbers which followed us. If we had had time to set fire to those houses many Rebels must have perished in them, but as night drew on Lord Percy thought it best to continue the march. Many houses were plundered by the Soldiers, notwithstanding the efforts of the Officers to prevent it. I have no doubt this inflamed the Rebels, and made many of them follow us farther than they would otherwise have done. By all accounts some Soldiers who staid too long in the houses, were killed in the very act of plundering by those who lay concealed in them. We brought in about ten prisoners, some of whom were taken in arms. One or two more were killed on the march while prisoners by the fire of thier own people.

Few or no Women or Children were to be seen throughout the day. As the Country had undoubted intelligence that some troops were to march out, and the Rebels were probably determined to attack them, it is generally supposed they had previously removed their families from the Neighbourhood.¹

As soon as the troops had passed Charlestown Neck the Rebels ceased firing. A Negro (the only one who was observed to fire at the Kings troops) was wounded near the houses close to the Neck, out of which the Rebels fired to the last.

¹ This supposition was not altogether correct. For the spontaneous migration of the women and children from Cambridge and Arlington, on the morning of the 19th of April, see the letter of Mrs. John Winthrop, I Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, XIV, pp. 29-30. For the exodus from Concord, see the oration of William Emerson, unpublished, quoted in "The Day of Concord and Lexington," p. 173, footnote.

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When the troops had drawn up on the heights above Charlestown neck, and had remained there about half an hour, Lord Percy ordered the Grenadiers and Light Infantry to march down into Charlestown, they were followed by the brigade, which marched off by the right, the 4th Regiment leading, and the 23rd being in the rear. Boats being ready to receive them, the wounded men were first embarked, then the flank Companies, the 4th & 47th. The boats returned with the Picquets of the 2nd, & 3rd brigades, the 10th Regiment, and 200 of the 64th who had been brought up from Castle William. Those troops were under the Command of Brigadier General Pigot, and were ordered to take possession of Charlestown, and the heights Commanding the Neck. As these movements took up a considerable time, the 23rd, and Marines were ordered into the Town house. Here we remained for two hours, when the boats being ready, we marched out and embarked; but it was past 12 at night before the whole of our Regiment was landed at the North end, Boston, from whence we marched to our Barracks.

Lieu^t Rooke of the 4th Regiment, Aide-de-Camp to Gen^l Gage, marched out in the Morning with the first Brigade, and just as the firing began he was sent back by Lord Percy to inform the General of the situation of affairs; but as he was obliged to cross the Country and keep out of the road, in order to avoid the numerous parties of Rebels who were coming from all parts to join those who attacked us, he did not arrive in Boston, by way of Charlestown, 'till past 4 o'Clock.

Lord Percy behaved with great spirit throughout this affair, and at the same time with great coolness. His determination to

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return by way of Charlestown prevented the loss of many men.

The loss of The King's Troops is stated on the opposite page. It is almost impossible to ascertain the loss of the Rebels, but in the opinion of most persons, they must have lost above 300 men, most of whom were killed. It is extremely difficult to say what number of men they had opposed to us, as their numbers were continually encreasing; but I imagine there was not less than 4000 actually assembled towards the latter part of the day.¹

The whole of The Kings troops did not exceed 1500 men.

¹ This figure is generally accepted. F. W. Coburn's estimate, as the result of his work on the muster rolls, was that 3763 Americans took the field. Of the Americans 49 were killed, 39 wounded, 5 missing, a total of 93.

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Return of the Killed, Wounded, & Missing in the Action of the 19th April 1775.¹

Corps.	Killed.	Wd.	Missing	Reg ^t	Names of Officers Wounded.
4 th	7	—	25 — 8	4 th	Lieu ^t Knight Died 20 th Ap ^l
5 th	5	—	15 — 1	—	Lieu ^t Gould In the Foot
10 th	1	—	13 — 1	5 th	Lieu ^t Tho: Baker Hand
18 th	1	—	4 — 1	—	L ^t Hawkshaw Cheek ²
23 rd	4	—	26 — 6	—	L ^t Cox Arm
38 th	4	—	12 — .	10 th	L ^t Col ^o Smith Leg
43 rd	4	—	5 — 2	—	Cap ^t Parsons Arm. — Contusion
47 th	5	—	22 — .	—	L ^t Kelly Arm
52 ^{ed}	3	—	2 — 1	—	Ens. Lister Arm
59 th	3	—	3 — .	23 rd	Lieu ^t Col ^o Bernard Thigh
Marines . . .	31	—	38 — 2	38 th	Lieu ^t Sutherland Breast. Slight
Artillery	—	2 — .	43 rd	Lieu ^t Hull { Body } Died { & 2 other places } 2 ^d May
Total . .	68	—	167 — 22	47 th	L ^t M ^o Leod Breast
Officers Not Included. ³				—	L ^t Baldwin Throat
				Marines.	Cap ^t Souter Leg
				—	L ^t M ^o Donald Slight
				—	L ^t Potter Slight

¹ This is on Mackenzie's "opposite page," *i. e.*, his left-hand sheet, commonly left blank.

² "Lieutenant Hawkstone, said to be the greatest beauty of the British Army, had his cheeks so badly wounded, that it disfigured him much, of which he bitterly complained." *Historical Magazine*, March, 1869, p. 206.

³ Mackenzie's total of 274 is one greater than the official return.

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Return of the Rank & file of the Royal Welch Fusiliers under arms in the Action at Lexington. 19th Ap^l. 1775.

	Rank & file.
Grenadier Company.....	29
Light Infantry Company.....	35
Eight Battalion Companies	218
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
Total.....	282
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>

The following is another Account of the Action of the 19th of April, by an Officer of one of the Flank Companies.¹

The Grenadier & Light Companies of the Regiments in Boston were ordered to assemble on the Beach near the Magazine at 10 o'Clock last night. The whole was not assembled 'till near 11; and as there were not boats enough to embark them at once, as many as they could contain were embarked, and landed at Phipps's farm. The boats then returned for the remainder, and it was near One oClock in the Morning before the whole were landed on the opposite shore. Two days provisions which had been dressed on board the Transports, were distributed to the troops, at Phipps's farm, which detained them near an hour; so that it was 2 oClock before they marched off.² Their march across the marshes into the high road, was hasty and

¹ This second account of the Concord expedition, not published until now, has no such value as Mackenzie's story of the march of the first brigade to Lexington. The writer has not Mackenzie's accuracy and comprehensiveness.

² The hour of this start differs in the accounts of the diarists. This officer agrees with Barker and the Richard Pope MS (Huntington Library, San Gabriel, California), but de Berniere says twelve. Midnight seems too early, while two seems impossibly late for the troops to be at Lexington, fifteen miles away, by sunrise, however fast they marched.

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fatiguing, and they were obliged to wade, halfway up their thighs, through two Inlets, the tide being by that time, up. This should have been avoided if possible, as the troops had a long march to perform. In order to make up for the time they had lost, the Commanding Officer marched at a great rate, 'till they reached Lexington, where, about daybreak, they found a body of Rebels, amounting to about 100 men, drawn up, under arms. They were hastily called to, to disperse. Shots were immediately fired; but from which side could not be ascertained, each party imputing it to the other. Our troops immediately rushed forward, and the Rebels were dispersed, 8 of them killed, and several wounded. One Soldier was wounded, and Major Pitcairn's horse was wounded.

Col^o Smith was not then in front, owing to the troops marching so fast, and his being a heavy man.[†]

When the firing had ceased, and the troops were put in order, several of the Officers advised Col^o Smith to give up the idea of prosecuting his march, and to return to Boston, as from what they had seen, and the certainty of the Country being alarmed and assembling, they imagined it would be impracticable to advance to Concord and execute their orders. But Col^o Smith determined to obey the orders he had received, and accordingly pursued his march, and arrived at Concord without further in-

[†] Here are certain agreements and disagreements with former narratives. Not daybreak but sunrise is the time generally set for the encounter at Lexington. The British accounts (Gage, Barker), have usually set the number of the minute-men at two hundred, the Americans at less than one hundred. Smith had sent Pitcairn in advance with the light infantry, but was close in his rear with the grenadiers. There is no reason for supposing that he was not mounted, as was Pitcairn.

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terruption. Soon after leaving Lexington, he was met by Major Mitchel of the 5th Reg^t, and some other Officers, who had been sent out from Boston on Horseback the Evening before towards Concord, with directions to stop all persons going that way in the night with intelligence. These Officers had been informed that Col^o Smith would meet them within a few miles of Concord at day break. From the place where Major Mitchel met the troops, an Officer was dispatched to inform Gen^l Gage of the situation of affairs. It was 10 o'Clock before the troops arrived at Concord. Col^o Smith was here informed that at some distance from the town there were two bridges, which it was necessary to secure, in order to prevent the Rebels from interrupting the troops while they were destroying those Military Stores at Concord, which it was the object of the Expedition to effect; Accordingly three Companies of Light Infantry were detached to the bridge on the right, which proved to be 3 miles distant; and 3 Companies to that on the left. The houses at Concord were now searched, and some pieces of Cannon, Carriage-wheels, Ammunition, & flour, found. The Trunnions of the Guns were knocked off, the wheels broken, & the ammunition destroyed. During this time the Rebels were assembling in considerable numbers opposite the bridges, and at other places, but did not attempt to fire on the detached Companies, altho they drew up within shot of them. As soon as the Stores were destroyed, orders were sent to the detached Companies to return; at one of the bridges they retired in a confused manner, and some shots were exchanged by which two of the Light Infantry were wounded. The whole being re-assembled at Concord

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about 12 o'clock, they began their march back towards Lexington.¹ The Rebels now appeared in considerable numbers, drawn up in a regular manner, keeping principally on the high grounds, firing occasionally on the troops, but never attempting to make any regular or serious attack.² As soon as they found the troops had got into a Column of march, they grew bolder, extended themselves on the flanks and rear of the Column, and fired briskly from behind any thing which afforded them shelter. The Troops returned their fire, but with too much eagerness, so that at first most of it was thrown away for want of that coolness and Steadiness which distinguishes troops who have been inured to service. The contempt in which

¹ Analysis of this narrative shows how often a diarist falls into error when he attempts to tell more than he has personally observed, to be a historian rather than a reporter. There is no other account than this of officers dissuading Smith from advancing beyond Lexington. If Smith did not meet Major Mitchell until after Lexington, Pitcairn met him before reaching the town. It is probable that Mitchell and his group of officers (who had arrested and liberated Paul Revere) were with Pitcairn on Lexington Green. The statement that they had expected to meet Smith near Concord at the same hour is interesting, and is nowhere else met with. Smith's messenger to Gage, asking for support, was sent before reaching Lexington. He knew of the two Concord bridges before leaving Boston, and had sent Pitcairn in advance in order to seize them. The Concord bridge "on the right" (the North Bridge at which the fight occurred) is scarcely a mile from the town; six companies were sent there, of which three marched two miles farther, to hunt for supplies. It was only at the North Bridge that the Americans assembled in any numbers. The account of the fight is quite erroneous. As to accepting ten o'clock as the hour of arrival at Concord, reason must first be given for taking so long to march the five miles from Lexington. Noon is accepted as the hour of departure; hours were needed for the British to do what they did; the American accounts of the fight put it before ten o'clock. The arrival can scarcely have been later than eight.

² This may be accepted as an account of the exit of the first half of the column from Concord, but the firing is questionable as not elsewhere recorded. Of the skirmish at Meriam's Corner, against the rear of the column, the writer knows nothing. The general analysis of the British fire, which follows, is very sensible.

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they held the Rebels, and perhaps their opinion that they would be sufficiently intimidated by a brisk fire, occasioned this improper conduct; which the Officers did not prevent as they should have done. A good deal of this unsteady conduct may be attributed to the sudden and unexpected commencement of hostilities, and the too great eagerness of the Soldiers in the first Action of a War. Most of them were young Soldiers who had never been in Action, and had been taught that every thing was to be effected by a quick firing.¹ This ineffectual fire gave the Rebels more confidence, as they soon found that notwithstanding there was so much, they suffered but little from it. During the march to Lexington the numbers of the Rebels increased, and the fire became more serious; several men were killed, and some Officers, and many men wounded. Col^o Smith was wounded in the leg, but walked on to Lexington.² The arrival of Lord Percy, with the 1st brigade and 2 6-pounders, who joined Col^o Smith's detachment about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 oClock at Lexington, checked the Rebels, who remained on the eminences near, and were a good deal alarmed at some Cannonshot which were fired at them.³

The troops now drew up on the high grounds on the Boston side of Lexington; and the Grenadiers and Light Infantry

¹ This fully bears out military treatises of the period.

² *Walked* is very definite. At about the same time Pitcairn also was unhorsed, his horse's early wound having apparently been negligible.

³ Mackenzie gives the same hour; Percy wrote "about 2 o'clk." It is true that the provincials were afraid of Percy's cannon.

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assembled in the rear of the brigade and were put in order.¹ Soon after which, Lord Percy gave orders for the whole to begin their march towards Boston. Col^o Smith's detachment marched in front, as they were a good deal fatigued, and had expended most of their ammunition. Flanking parties were sent out, and the Welch Fusiliers ordered to form the rear Guard. As soon as the rear Guard began to move, the Rebels commenced their fire, having previously crept round under cover, and gained the walls and hedges² on both flanks. The firing continued without intermission, from Lexington, until the troops passed over Charlestown Neck. Those Rebels who came in from the flanks during the march, always posted themselves in the houses and behind the walls by the roadside, and there waited the approach of the Column, when they fired at it. Numbers of them were mounted, and when they had fastened their horses at some little distance from the road, they crept down near enough to have a Shot; as soon as the Column had passed, they mounted again, and rode round until they got ahead of the Column, and found some convenient place from whence they might fire again. These fellows were generally good marksmen, and many of them used long guns made for Duck-Shooting.³

The troops drew up on Charlestown heights about dusk; soon after which some of the Corps began to embark and passed

¹ This locates Smith's force in some confusion near Munroe's tavern; the statements are in harmony with all British accounts.

² This is a true English touch. If there were hedges, no one else has mentioned them.

³ There is no other contemporary account of these horsemen. The account is reasonable, and differs from the tradition of the "man on the white horse" who is said to have ridden up close and fired from the saddle.

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over to Boston. The last Regiment did not get to their Barracks 'till past 12 at night. The 10th Regiment, and the Picquets of the 2^{ed} & 3rd brigades, with a Detachment of the 64th Regiment, came over to Charlestown, took post on the heights, and placed their advanced posts at Charlestown Neck.

We brought off most of our Wounded men.

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20th April. During the absence of the troops yesterday, orders were given for all those in Boston to remain in their Barracks, ready to turn out with arms, ammunition, and provisions, the moment they are ordered. General Gage was not without some apprehensions that the Rebels might make some attempt upon the town while so considerable a part of the troops were in the Country.

As soon as the troops from Boston took post on Charlestown heights last night, they began to throw up a redoubt to command the Neck; it was in a good state of forwardness this morning, when Gen^l Gage, having determined to abandon Charlestown, gave orders for its being demolished, and the Troops to be withdrawn into Boston; which was done by 4 o'clock in the afternoon.¹

Great numbers of the Rebels are in arms at Roxbury, and there has been no free communication with the Country this day.

It is conceived by many, that the expedition to Concord for the destruction of the Military Stores, which it was said were deposited there in considerable quantities, might have been conducted with greater secrecy, and been effected without the loss which ensued and, the consequences which must now inevitably follow. It had been usual for some of the troops, when-

¹ Remark has often been made upon Gage's abandoning Charlestown now, only to have to pay heavily for its recapture at Bunker Hill battle. The reason is indicated by Mackenzie above: Gage's exaggerated fear of what the provincials might accomplish by mere numbers. The fact that a British redoubt had been begun on the northerly crest of Bunker Hill, and then demolished, is not elsewhere stated, except in an unpublished letter by the Hon. Charles Stuart.

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ever the weather was favorable, to march several miles into the Country, and return in the Afternoon. The 38th & 52^{ed} Regiments marched once to Watertown, which indeed occasioned some alarm, and Cannon were fired, bells rung, and exprefses sent off, to give the alarm; but as they returned again the same Evening after refreshing their men, the people were eased of their fears, and there was no afsemblage of any consequence. This mode might have been continued, ftill encreasing the number of troops, and going different roads, until the time intended for putting the design in execution; when the troops destined for that service, might have marched as far as Watertown, which is near 11 Miles on one of the roads to Concord, whence, after remaining 'till towards Evening to reft the men, inftead of returning to Bofton, they might have purfued their march to Concord, where they would have arrived & effected their purpose before the Country could poffibly have been fufficiently alarmed to have afsembled in any numbers, either to prevent them, or moleft them in their return to Bofton. For greater security a brigade might have marched by different roads from Bofton at daybreak, which would have prevented the Rebels afsembling in one point, and have fecured the return of the troops without any material lofs. But as it was, it was known early in the day, the 18th, that provisions were dreffing on board the transports for a body of troops, that the boats were ordered to be on the beach near the Common at night, and that feveral Officers had gone out towards Concord in the afternoon. As the people in Bofton were constantly on the watch, thefe indications of fome enterprize, were fufficient;

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accordingly expresses were sent out early in the Evening, and the whole Country was soon alarmed. It was not until 10 at night that orders were sent to The Lines to prevent any person from going out there. There is no doubt but the Country had information of the movement of the troops, as a Company was found under arms at Lexington at daybreak.

There was a general Muster of all the Neighbouring Militia only the day before, (whether by accident, or in consequence of information of the General's intention is not certain; but most probable the latter) so that every man was in a state of preparation and equipment.¹ This should have been known, because, if their meeting was not on purpose to oppose the troops, there was hardly time for them to disperse and return to their several homes. I believe the fact is, that General Gage was not only much deceived with respect to the quantity of the Military Stores said to be collected at Concord, but had no conception the Rebels would have opposed The King's troops in the manner they did. But the temper of the people, the preparations they had been making all the winter to oppose the troops should they move out of Boston with hostile intentions, and above all their declared resolution to do so, made it evident to most persons, that opposition would be made, on any attempt to destroy Stores and Ammunition which they had avowedly collected for the defence of the Province.

An Officer of more activity than Col^o Smith, should have

¹ No general muster had been held; there had been a muster for Concord and the neighboring towns in Concord on the 13th of March. Mackenzie is not informed of the organization of the minute-men, nor did he know that the Americans had been removing stores from Concord.

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been selected for the Command of the troops destined for this service.¹

Orders were given this day for the Officers to lay in their men's barracks 'till further orders.

From the want of proper accomodations for Officers in most of the Barracks, they have been under the necessity of hiring lodgings as near as they could to them. It is conceived that in case of an alarm, or sudden insurrection, the Officers might be prevented from repairing to their posts. Every Regiment is now ordered, in case of alarm, to assemble at their respective Barracks, and not march to the Alarm posts which had been assigned them.²

The troops ordered to lay dressed in their Barracks this night. 21st Ap^l 1775. The town is now surrounded by armed Rebels, who have intercepted all communication with the Country.

The Guards ordered to mount at 4 o'Clock in the afternoon 'till further orders.

The Orderly hour fixed at 5 in the Afternoon.

Lieu^t Knight of the 4th Regiment, who died yesterday of a wound received in the action of the 19th, was buried this afternoon with the usual Military honors. He was an Excellent Officer, and a good man, and is universally regretted.

22nd April The troops ordered to be completed to 60 rounds p^r man.

¹ Mackenzie did not foresee that in his diary of 1778, when recording the British occupation of New York, he would have occasion to write another and more personal complaint of Smith's inactivity.

² The alarm posts will be found in Barker's entry for the 30th of December previous. (*The British in Boston*, p. 15.)

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ADJUTANT MACKENZIE'S REGIMENTAL REPORT OF APRIL 23
WITH HIS SIGNATURE

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IN REVOLUTIONARY BOSTON

A working party consisting of 1 Cap^t 3 Sub^s 4 Serj^{ts} 4 Corp^{ls} 2 Drummers and 100 Privates, with their arms and ammunition, marched this afternoon to the Block house near the Neck, where a Battery is immediately to be constructed.

Five Serjeants, 5 Corp^{ls} and 100 Privates, with their Arms and Ammunition, were sent this day to do duty with the Royal Artillery.

The following order was given out this day.

As by the report from Lord Percy and the Officers in general, the men in the late affair, tho they behaved with much courage and spirit, shewed great inattention and neglect to the Commands of their Officers, which if they had observed, fewer of them would have been hurt, the General expects on any future occasion, that they will behave with more discipline and in a more Soldierlike manner: and it is his most positive orders that no man quit his rank to plunder or pillage, or to enter a house unless ordered so to do, under pain of death; and each Officer will be made answerable for the Platoon under his Command.¹

23rd April The Working party at the Block house consisted this day of 2 Cap^{ts} 6 Sub^s 6 Serj^{ts} 6 Corp^{ls} 3 Drum^{rs} and 150 Privates.

A Reinforcement consisting of 1 Field Officer, 5 Captains, 10 Sub^s 10 Serj^{ts} 10 Corp^{ls} 5 Drum^{rs} and 250 men, from the brigade on duty, marched this afternoon at half after 6 o'Clock

¹ This important entry constitutes our first knowledge of the dissatisfaction of Gage and Percy with the conduct of the troops on the 19th of April. It should be read in connection with the official report on the same event. What was good for the garrison was prudently withheld from the public. Barker's entry for the 25th of April (*The British in Boston*, p. 39) gives unofficial reason for Gage's rebuke.

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to The Lines; leaving a Cap^t and 30 men at the Neck. A Surgeon is ordered to attend this party.

From all the measures which have been taken since the 19th Inst, it appears that the General is apprehensive the Rebels will make some desperate attempt on the town. The numbers which are assembled round it, and their violent and determined spirit, make it prudent to guard against what they may do.

24th April. Orders given for part of the Troops to Encamp to Morrow: and that no person whatever shall be permitted to go beyond the lines, unless on duty, or by permission from the General.

The working party at the Blockhouse reduced to 1 Cap^t 4 Sub^s & 100 men.

All working parties ordered to parade with arms for the future.

The Officers have continued to lie in the Barracks with the men every night since the 19th Instant.

The Brigadier of the Day, with his Major of Brigade, and a Surgeon, has remained all night at the Lines since the above mentioned day.

The Duty at this time is very severe upon the Troops.

25th April Our Regiment Encamped this morning on Fort Hill; The 4th Regiment on Mount Whoredom,[†] and the Marines on the Common.

The Barrack bedding and furniture has been given up to the Barrack Master, and the troops have been supplied with a Blanket p^r man and three paillafses p^r tent, by the Q^r Master General.

[†] A rise of ground on the west slope of Beacon Hill.

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The Officers and men are ordered to lie dressed in their tents, and ready to turn out on the shortest notice. The men take their arms into their tents.

26th April The 47th Regiment encamped this Morning on the Common.

The Commander in Chief has ordered 100 days Bat and Forage money to be issued to the troops.

27th April. The General has allowed the troops encamped, to take some of the boards used in the bottoms of their births in the Barracks, to put under their paillases in the tents. This arrangement will preserve the health of the Soldiers, as the ground is still damp.

Orders given for all the Regiments to deliver in whatever number of ball Cartridges they may have above 60 rounds p^r man; and to employ their men in making more, which are to be delivered twice a week into the Ordnance Stores.

28th April. The Commander in Chief has ordered another hundred days Bat and forage money to be issued to the troops.

The Commander in Chief has allowed two gills of Rum to be given daily, for the future, to those men employed on the works. One Gill is to be given to them in the morning, and the other in the Evening. For this purpose a hogshead of Rum is to be issued to each Corps, and the Quarter Master is to distribute it to the working parties, and account to the Q^r Master General for it when expended.

A work is constructing on Beacon hill.

A BRITISH FUSILIER

29th April. Numbers of the Inhabitants having applied to the General for permission to leave the Town, an Officer was ordered to attend at Charlestown ferry this Morning at 8 o'Clock, to examine and receive the pases signed by The Town Major for those who have received the General's permission to go out.

Some of the troops having begun to destroy fences and other property, the General has given strict orders that no property whatever shall be touched or damaged without orders for so doing.

Detail of the Duty in Boston - 29th April 1775

Guards &c—	F.O	C	S	S	C	D	P
Main Guard	I	2	3	3	2	50
Advanced works	I	2	4	4	4	2	120
Block house	I	I	I	I	30
Neck	I	I	2	I	30
Artillery	I	2	4	4	2	60
Artillery work house	I	I	.	12
Wood yard	I	I	.	9
Brigadiers Guards	I	.	12
Reinforcement to the Lines	I	5	10	10	10	5	200
4 Quarter Guards	4	4	8	4	120
4 Rear Guards	4	4	.	36
Barrack Guards of 11 Corps	5	11	11	5	160
Hospital .. D ^o	11	.	40
4 Picquets of Regiments encamped	4	8	8	8	8	160
Orderlies	11	I	.	50
Total	2	13	37	63	70	30	1089

Working parties, not included.

IN REVOLUTIONARY BOSTON

30th April. Warm weather Therm^r 64°.

Arrived The Faulcon, and Otter, Sloops of war from England.

We hear by some persons who came in within a day or two, that there are a good many British deserters in arms with the Rebels. They have also a few of The Stockbridge Indians with them, who Shew themselves at the ferry at Charlestown.

L^t Hull of the 43rd Regiment who was dangerously wounded on the 19th Instant, was left in a house in the Village of Menotomy. 'Tis said the Rebels placed three deserters from the 43rd Reg^t over him while he lay on a bed unable to move, and that one of those Villains threatened to shoot him for having formerly brought him to a Court Martial.¹

At Boston ² in the Spring of 1775 two General Courts Martial were sitting at one time, for the trial of Officers, an instance hardly known before in the British Service, in one Garrison.

In Ireland about the year 1770, or 1771, a General Court Martial was assembled to try a Captain Garstang of the Dragoons. A Captain who had, some time before, given in his resignation, and signified his desire to sell out, was one of the Members, and the Court proceeded so far as to give their Sentence, by which the Officer who was tried, was censured; but before the Sentence was made public, a Commisfion, dated

¹ These rumors concerning Lieutenant Hull are repeated nowhere else. Dr. McClure, an American minister, has given us our only first-hand evidence concerning Hull's last days. Hull was attended by a physician and a woman nurse. See Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, series I, vol. xiv, pp. 157, 158.

² The following paragraphs were written on the final pages of the diary-volume, but without date.

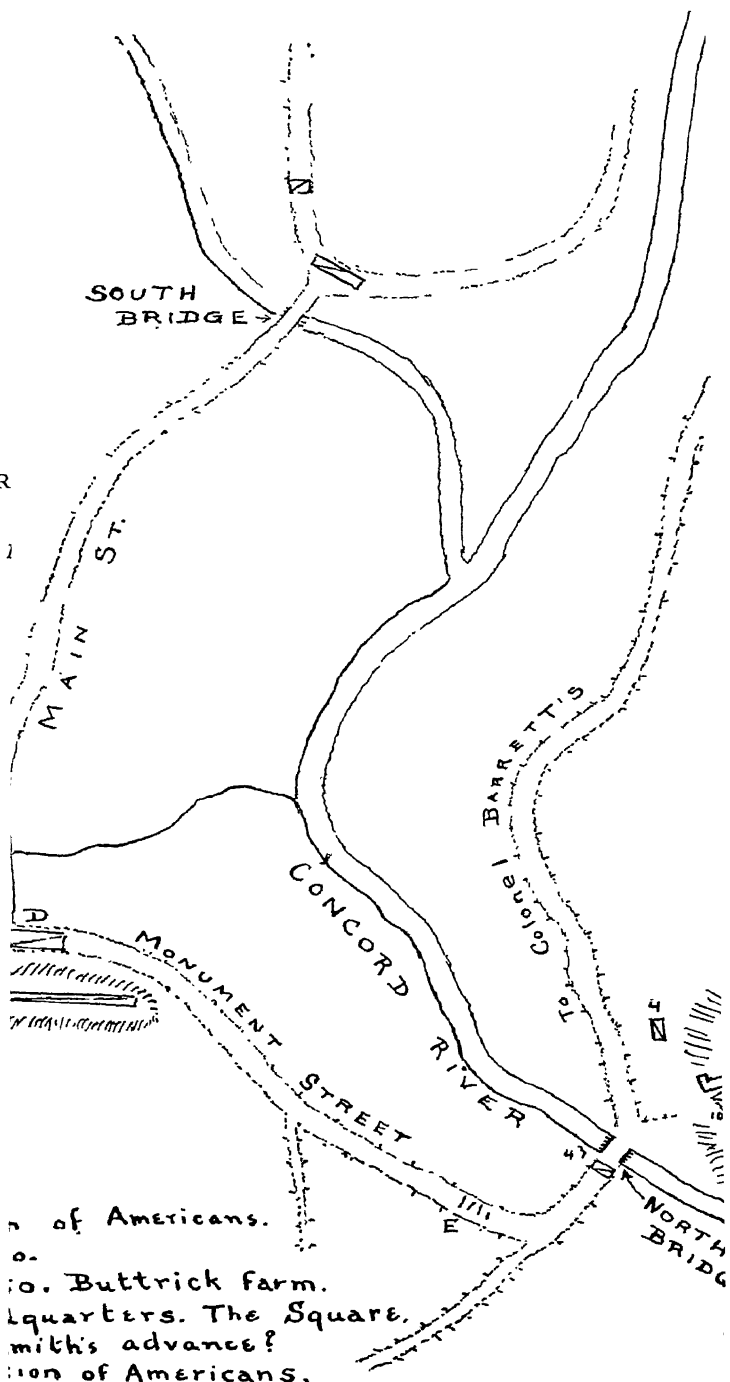
A BRITISH FUSILIER

before the date of the Warrant for holding the Court Martial, came over from England, appointing another person in the room of the above Captain: the opinion of the Lawyers was taken, who declared, that as, during the whole proceedings of the Court Martial, a person who was not then an Officer, sat as a Member, the Sentence was illegal. On which the whole affair was dropped, as the prisoner could not be tried twice for the same offence.

N. B. Told me by L^t Dutton 38th Reg^t. April 1775.

If during the sitting of a General Court Martial a Member dies, the whole of the Evidences must be examined over again in the presence of the new Member: but, if after Sentence has been passed, and before its being approved, or made public, a Member dies, or sells out, the Sentence will stand good.

SKETCH INTER



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CONTEMPORARY MAP OF THE POSITION AT CONCORD,
INSERTED IN THE DIARY

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE MAP OF CONCORD

NOTE ON THE MACKENZIE MAP

THE Concord map in the Mackenzie diary is the only contemporary map illustrating the action of the Nineteenth of April, 1775. It is pasted in the diary facing the page, copied by Mackenzie from the narrative of a brother officer, which describes events at Concord. The map was drawn with a pen of surprising fineness (if a quill) and black ink, and was annotated with a coarser pen and an ink not so black.

As a sketch-map it is reasonably accurate. Lexington Road, which is curved, is drawn straight. The houses seem to be put in at haphazard; for none of those which figure in the story of the day, such as the Wright Tavern and the Old Manse, can be distinguished. But on the whole the roads, the mill-pond, and the bridges, are correctly placed.

The interest in the map lies in its indication of the military actions, by the familiar device of oblongs, crossed by diagonals, to show the positions of bodies of troops. In the case of the British the oblongs are usually small, probably representing company units. The provincial forces, whose composition was unknown to the maker of the map, are commonly represented by larger oblongs.

The placing of the oblongs represents the progressive actions of the day. As the British approached Concord they discovered a body of provincial troops on the slope above Meriam's corner, and sent the light infantry to dislodge them. This action appears to be represented by the ten units climbing the slope against the larger unit. The Americans withdrew; the British followed.

The second position of the Americans is shown by the long thin oblong at the further end of the same ridge. Approached by the British, the Ameri-

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cans withdrew a second time, and presently crossed the river. The British occupied the square at the joining of the roads. Their force at this point, doubtless varying in size all through the morning, is represented by a single oblong of medium size.

From this post three companies, it is known, were sent to the South Bridge, which is at the upper part of the map. The outpost is indicated by two oblongs.

The North Bridge is at the lower right-hand corner of the map. Here is represented, near the Buttrick house on the hill, the mass of American minute-men, grown to a considerable force. This is according to known history. The new fact now presented by the map is the position of the British. It is known that six British companies marched to the bridge, three of which proceeded onward, by the road wandering up the side of the map, to the house of Colonel Barrett. Possibly their destination, with these three companies, was represented on the corner torn from the map. The main interest lies, however, with the troops near the bridge. It has long been known that the light company of the 43rd Regiment was at the bridge, and American statements have been made that the light companies of the 4th and 10th regiments were on the eastern side. The map now makes clear, however, that these two companies were placed where modern military science would put them, *across* the bridge on the western side, as outposts against the provincials and as supports for the troops at Colonel Barrett's.

The numbers of these three British companies near the bridge were put in by the annotator of the map. The same hand also made, with the coarser pen and lighter ink, four irregular marks across the road near where it turned from Concord to the bridge. It is known that, too late to prevent the fight, Smith marched toward the bridge with his grenadiers, met the fugitive British, halted, hesitated, and turned back. The marks in the road may be taken to indicate the extreme of Smith's advance.

There remain to be explained two other American positions, in the lower left-hand corner of the map. They bear upon the question, often asked in the past, what the Americans were doing in the two hours after the Fight

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and before the British retreat. On a hill separate from the ridge at Meriam's corner the maker of the map put three units of troops, marking them RE BE LS. And on the edge of the ridge he drew another such thin long oblong as he had already used to indicate the provincials. These positions (though in actual fact the separate hill is a full half-mile from the ridge) would seem to indicate that the Americans, massed at these points, were waiting to attack the British on their retreat.

There remains to be said only that the road from Bedford is shown at this corner, and that just beyond the North Bridge the end of the road from the hill, by which the Americans marched down to the attack, is faintly marked.

It is fascinating but dangerous to speculate on the history of the map. Who made it cannot be known. The annotator may have been Mackenzie himself, for the words, "Position at Concord, 19th Ap. 1775," resemble the hasty scribbling of his index pages. But this cannot be certain. One edge of the map is rumpled. The back is dirty, and is marked "Journal, 1775," with a list of the light-infantry companies that marched with Smith, but omitting the marines. That Mackenzie may have made the annotations, and that the map may have been drawn by Ensign De Berniere, is the most that can be said.

Interest will always attach, however, to this sole contemporary map. It contradicts nothing that was known before, and adds to our knowledge of that important day.

